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THE CROZER QUARTERLY

Vol. VIII OCTOBER, 1931 No. 4

THE GHOST OF A CHANCE

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

The Riverside Church, New York

TEXT: "Bring me up Samuel."—*1 Sam. 28:11*

THERE is a picture that haunts the imagination these days concerning which I wish to speak seriously with you on this last Sunday in the old year. It is the picture of our children or of their children after them sitting amid the wreckage of our Western civilization and vainly wishing that they might get back again the chance that we have in our hands now.

If we feel indisposed to entertain that picture, we may at least agree that it is the more intelligent and thoughtful persons of our generation who feel it most and the careless and thoughtless who see it least. To say that it is impossible is nonsense. Too many times in history the children of great civilizations—Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, Rome—have sat amid the wreckage of their power wishing that they could get back again the chance that their fathers threw away, for us to suppose that such a fate is unlikely to befall us.

Let us dramatize this situation for our thought by one of the most picturesque scenes in the Old Testament—Saul going down to the witch of Endor's cave crying, "Bring me up Samuel." One moonlight night on Mount Tabor I saw the setting of that old scene with unforgettable impressiveness. Far across the plain of Esdraelon, shining in the moonlight, one could see Mount Gilboa, where long ago Saul's army had encamped. Here in the foreground, three miles away, the

lights of the little village of Endor, still called by the same name, were shining clear. One vividly could picture Saul, perhaps on such a night as this, slipping away from his army in disguise, skirting the hosts of the Philistines, to the witch of Endor's cave, there in despair of his situation to plead with that ancient medium for a chance to speak to the dead prophet again—" Bring me up Samuel."

Now, the point is that Saul had had Samuel. He had had Samuel for many years and had disregarded and humiliated him. Samuel, the prophet, had picked Saul out to be the king of Israel, had tried to stand beside him and counsel him, had offered him his friendship and his wisdom; and Saul had thrown him over, dropped the old pilot, and floundered on alone with growing folly and misfortune until now, when the final crisis comes and Samuel is dead, he wants the ghost of his old chance back again. " Bring me up Samuel."

How familiar and how tragic that situation is! To have a great opportunity, to be careless about it and lose it and then want the ghost of it back again—how human that is! How many men, nations, and civilizations have gone down to Endor's cave, crying, " Bring me up Samuel! "

Any one who knows human life knows that there must be husbands and wives here this morning saying that. They had every opportunity for a beautiful marriage and a lovely home, but one or the other, or both of them, have tossed aside the sanctities of family life or handled with ill-tempered fingers the fineness of family relationships, and now, in a crisis too imminent to be avoided, we can see them slipping down to the witch of Endor's cave, wishing that they had the ghost of their old chance back again.

One knows also that there must be persons here this morning acquainted with Endor's cave in their moral life. Here is a man thirty years of age under anxious watchcare in a New York hospital. He started drinking ten years ago. He is an alcoholic now, desperately trying to keep his footing on a steep

and slippery incline whose bottom is a drunkard's grave, and it is not pleasant to hear him as he talks about the chance that he had a decade since, with a free, unfettered life, and cries, " Bring me up Samuel."

Yes, look far enough and you will find whole nations in Endor's cave. They had their chance. Once they rode high on the saddle of the world but the insane game of war has been played for them with disastrous consequence, and because they live closer than we do to the ruins of old empires, from Tyre to Rome, that once bestrode the world and fell, they are not so childishly optimistic as we are. They are wondering today whether they will ever get the ghost of their old chance back again.

My friends, the witch of Endor's cave is very populous, and a good time to visit it voluntarily, before we are forced to, and look at it with discerning eyes, is the last Sunday of an old year. How many of us even these last twelve months can remember chances lost that we wish we had back again! As to the basic principle which underlies all this we would agree. If any man or nation or civilization has a fine chance, then let the most be made of it, for it is fairly easy to keep an opportunity but it is desperately difficult to recover one. How one wishes that that simple, basic truth could be made plain to individuals, to say nothing of civilizations!

You young men and women from our own families, there is no doubt about your having a great chance. You have it in your hands today—the heritage of fine opportunity—and it is not so hard to keep if you will, but it is desperately difficult to get back again if once you lose it.

That is true about reputation. As I look back on my youth I think they did not adequately stress the importance of reputation. They used to say that character is what a man is and reputation is what people think he is; take care of the first and the second will take care of itself. Well, there is truth in that and sometimes a man must fall back on it, but whenever

I see a youth with a clean name, no tarnish on it yet, I think of the multitudes who would give almost everything they possess to have that chance back again. You remember the lines that Robert Burns wrote for his own grave:

> The poor Inhabitant below
> Was quick to learn and wise to know,
> And keenly felt the friendly glow,
> And softer flame;
> But thoughtless follies laid him low,
> And stain'd his name!

What is true about reputation is true about character. Wide areas of youth are divided into two parts: those who start with a heavy handicap and work up, and those who start with a great opportunity and throw it away. As for the first, thirty years ago you could have seen washing dishes in a Pittsburgh hotel kitchen a young Hungarian peasant lad just over, unable to speak English. What chance had he? Well, some time since I gave the hand of fellowship to that boy welcoming him into the communion of the Christian Church. He worked by day and studied at night. When he graduated from the night high school he took as the subject for his oration the opportunities that America gives to the boys who come to her shores. He worked his way through one of our colleges and graduated an honor man, worked his way through the Harvard Law School and into the membership of a New York law firm, and some of you may have cases with him, for all I know, little thinking that once he was a kitchen boy in a Pittsburgh hotel. He had a slim chance but he made the most of it.

Here is the other—a man whose name once was known from one end of this country to the other as a leader in the Student Christian Movement. He had every chance and, for a while a shining light, he is now a profane, contemptible wreck of a man, eking out a miserable existence in the back areas of the city. To see him is to hear the prayer, "Bring me up Samuel."

Now what always lies behind this tragic experience in Endor's cave? Some one says, Sin. Yes, but that is too general. Always a silly optimism lies behind it. Say what we will about the unsupportable dreariness of life without hope, the fact still remains that when hope goes to seed in foolish optimism the consequences are disastrous. Imagine going to Saul in those first days of his early victories and saying to him, Saul, you are making a fool of yourself; Samuel is the greatest opportunity you have; make the most of him or, if not, some day you will go down to some witch of Endor's cave wanting the ghost of this chance back again. Saul would not have believed it. He would have "hoped for the best." He would have thought that everything would come out right. I want to tackle that attitude this morning. It is one of the most prevalent, popular attitudes of the United States in particular and it is one of the most dangerous things in the world today. As a people we are tempted to a silly optimism.

For one thing, we had a gigantic continent to exploit and the psychological results of that have been tremendous. We could waste our coal, waste our forests, spend our natural resources like drunken sailors, but everything would come out all right. Imagine America ever going down to the witch of Endor's cave wanting the ghost of her chance back again —impossible! But it is not impossible. It is inevitable unless we can be cured of our fatuous optimism.

Moreover, predisposed to a Pollyanna attitude by our resourceful continent, we have been carried further by our faith in inevitable progress. Many Americans who have given up almost all the rest of their religion—faith in God, the soul, and immortality—still believe with utter credulity in the inevitability of progress. Their philosophy of history is that we are all on an escalator going up; if we should run we would go faster but anyway, willy-nilly, no matter what we do, tomorrow we will be higher than today; we are going up. That is a disastrous and absurd lie. Ask Greece; ask Rome;

ask some of my English friends who are wondering if today even Great Britain can come back again. Regress is as possible as progress. It is all a question as to whether the nation successfully wrestles with her opportunity while she has it.

Moreover, predisposed to a Pollyanna attitude by our great continent and carried further by this faith in automatic and guaranteed progress, we crown our optimism with a comfortable religion. Americans are noted around the world for having worked out the most comfortable religion on earth. When I listen to some of the characteristic productions of the churches I am sick at heart. Religion for comfort only—that is it. All too little realistic grappling with stern facts. All too little facing of difficult issues. All too little that is costly as though men had a serious sense of human destinies hanging in the balance. Religion for comfort only! A great deal of our American faith amounts to little more than this: that God is like a father with his children in a boat; he lets his children steer; sometimes to train them he lets them steer in perilous places but, just as a father when a storm rises and the rocks are near, will take the tiller and steer to safety, so God in every pinch of peril will recover us; whatever we do, everything will come out all right in the end; trust him for that. That is a dangerous religious falsehood. Look down the shores of history and see. What are those wrecks beaten to pieces on the rocks? Man after man, nation after nation, civilization after civilization that had their chance and rose to prominence and power and, growing wayward, threw their opportunity away and now are hulks beaten to pieces on the reefs of history. God does let his children wreck their boats.

All around the nave of this church, on the capitals of the pillars, are carved scenes from the life of Jeremiah. I wish that they might break into speech. We need his voice in America today. He lived and worked when the Jewish people were on the verge of their great catastrophe, the exile. Everybody else was optimistic. They would tinker up this political

alliance or that; they would trust God, whatever happened, to recover them in the end. As Jeremiah said, " They have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace; when there is no peace." He only was a realist. For forty years of prophethood he stood among his people, the one man in Judah who saw the facts and courageously declared them. He hated the message that he had to deliver as any man hates to be sobering when he would far rather be cheerful. He said it was like a fire in his bones and that he could not contain it. But in the end what he foresaw came to pass and that fatuously optimistic people, throwing its chance away, went out into the Endor's cave of the Babylonian exile, crying, " Bring me up Samuel."

When I say that we in America need Jeremiah's voice, I am no croaking raven, crying, " Nevermore, nevermore." Our Samuel is not dead yet. That is why it is worth while talking about him. Not by a long way, I hope, has he departed from us. We still have a glorious opportunity. It is in our hands, but now is the time to emphasize that fact. If on this road of a foolish optimism we go much further, there is no power in heaven above or the earth beneath that will keep us, too, from Endor's cave.

Consider, for example, that we still have a chance to stop war. The more one knows about it the slimmer he sees the chance to be, but we still have a chance to stop war. Still the memories of our people can vividly recall the ugly and brutal hell that war is. Still books and plays keep vividly in the imagination of the populace the obscene abominations that war involves. Still straight-shooting thinkers like Albert Einstein plead for a pacifism that will refuse in the name of patriotism to support again the unspeakable damnation of a war. We still have a widespread popular hatred of war. Yes, and those international agencies that grew up out of our first passionate reaction against war, the League of Nations, the World Court, Disarmament Conferences, are still struggling hard, trying to

keep the candle of reason burning in a windy world. We have yet a chance to stop war, and heaven knows! we had better take it because another world war would rob our children of everything that we have cared for most. But sometimes when I talk with Americans about this, watch their apathetic, indifferent attitude, even to great matters of public policy like the World Court, I am dismayed.

In 1890 the United States appropriated $36,500,000 for its army; for 1931 the appropriation was $351,000,000. In 1890 the appropriation for the navy was $21,000,000 and for 1930 was over $380,000,000. And that is going on all over this poverty-stricken earth. We are traveling precisely the same road that all the civilizations before us have traveled, and with our sentimental optimism we will not believe it. My friends, if we are going to have peace we must care about peace more than we have been caring, care for it sacrificially as our fathers used to care for causes that they died for. All too commonly we picture peace as a dove or a beautiful maiden scattering largess from her ample cornucopia. That is no figure for peace. When peace comes she will not arrive as a dove or as a carefree beauty but as one who has been despised, and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief. We have our choice—to care about peace with some serious sense that civilization is in the balance, or else to have our children cry for the ghost of our chance back again.

Once more, we still have a chance to build a humane and decent economic life that will minister to the welfare of all people. I do not see how any one can look across the world today without perceiving that it is a narrow chance. For see the picture: communism rising as a prodigious world power and all the capitalistic nations arming themselves to the teeth to fly at each other's throats and tear each other to pieces. I suspect that folks are generally tempted to think of ministers of religion as visionary idealists and business men as hard-headed realists. Upon the contrary, I should like nothing bet-

ter than to help some of my business friends to be hard-headed realists just now. For capitalism is on trial. That is the realistic situation. Our whole capitalistic society is on trial; first within itself, for obviously there is something the matter with the operation of a system that over the Western world leaves millions upon millions of people out of work who want work, and millions more in the sinister shadows of poverty. Second, capitalism is on trial with communism for its world competitor. Now, I do not like communism; I love liberty too much. I cannot stomach such suppression of free speech, free assembly, free labor as communism involves. But this verbal damning of communism now prevalently popular in the United States will get us nowhere. The decision between communism and capitalism hinges on one point. Can capitalism adjust itself to this new age? Can it move out from its old individualism, dominated by the selfish profit-motive, and so create a new cooperative epoch with social planning and social control, that it can serve, better than it has, the welfare of all the people? If it can, it can survive. If it cannot, some form of communism will be forced upon our children. Be sure of that! Today our chance to build a more decent economic life but, if we lose it, tomorrow our children wanting the ghost of that chance back again.

The issue of all this is a deep need which I urge on my conscience just as I urge it on yours. We need a rebirth of citizenship, a rebirth of public spirit, a renaissance of spiritual life and ethical Christianity that will issue in social-mindedness. With prosperity selfish individualism is natural. When wealth is plentiful each one struggles for as large a share as possible for himself. But that is not our situation now. Some of you this very moment are suffering cruelly in this depression. Some of you here whom I know personally, accustomed to plenty, are in a situation where penury is lurking around the corner. And the factors that caused that are not individual but social; they are not even national—they are world-wide.

Selfish individualism for man or nation in this new world is downright insanity. There may have been a time, on the frontier, when a man could be the master of his own fate, but now a man's welfare or a man's disaster depends so on world-wide conditions, which he cannot handle for himself, that only social-mindedness, cooperatively handling them together for the good of all, can meet the issue. John Wesley said once, "I look upon all the world as my parish." Would that we could catch his vision! Unless we can get that kind of public spirit, with some intelligence to make it effective, nothing else can save us.

Now bring this truth for a moment down to our own individual consciences. When Jeremiah was trying to save the Jewish people from their fate, he had a nephew named Baruch who later became his private secretary and through whom the records of his ministry are preserved for us. Baruch was tempted to a selfish individualism. He was a member of a great family; he had as good a chance as any to serve his private ambition; he saw his own brother achieve political prestige and he was tempted to a selfish life. But Jeremiah, seeing how desperately critical the social situation was, challenged him with words that I wish could be burned into the conscience of this country. "Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not."

Centuries afterward a boy was walking across the campus at Cornell wondering what he would do with his life, and because there was a religious meeting on and he was curious, he stepped into the hall just as the text was being announced. This was it: "Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not." That was the turning point of that boy's life, as it had been, long before, of Baruch's, and with some importance to Christianity withal, because that boy was John R. Mott. I challenge my conscience and yours with those words today. This generation is no flower garden to dally in. Today our chance to build a more decent world, tomorrow our children

wanting the ghost of it back again. Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not.

If this sermon has seemed depressing, I beg of you to notice that our message is a lesson, not in gloom but in appreciation. What it says to every man or nation is, Appreciate your Samuel; while you have any Samuel, appreciate him! A more practical message could hardly be brought to us. How fortunate some of us are—home, friends, repute, character, opportunity—and for all the criticalness of the social situation, a magnificent chance left yet to build a warless and humane world. How many Samuels will cross the frontiers of the New Year with us! God keep us, every one, from throwing the chance away. God save us, every one, from Endor's cave.

PRAYER

Eternal God, our Father, we beeseech Thee that Thou wilt lay a heavy hand on consciences here that have been at ease in Zion. Stir us up from our selfish love of comfort. Drive us, we beseech Thee, from our too easy nests. Give us eyes to see the serious facts of our time and courage to meet them and dedicated intelligence to handle them. We ask it in the spirit of Christ. Amen.

THE RISE OF THE DENOMINATIONS

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THE immediate starting point of our study of the origins of the denominations is the Protestant Reformation. What was this movement of the Sixteenth Century? Certainly the situation giving rise to it is tangled and confused; volumes may and have been written upon it. But, briefly, is not the cause found in this fact, an imperial-ecclesiastical system, lingering long beyond its allotted span and usefulness, was thwarting and opposing the inevitable progress and advance of human rights in Western Europe? And the conflict is one not merely of tangible, material forces but of philosophic views as well. The Reformation, then, represents the birth-throes of a new, democratic order—political, economic, religious.

We are carried swiftly back to the origin of Christianity. There we discover a vast, world-encircling, powerfully established empire benevolently extending the blessings of universal peace and prosperity. But in the course of a few centuries barbarians from the hinterland of Europe were pounding at the walls of this same far-flung imperial domain, and armed hordes, battering down the gates of the eternal city itself, walked within her streets. In that cataclysmic disaster cities fell, literature was lost, art was ruined, institutions crumpled. Great men, Christian and pagan alike, bowed their heads in mystified sorrow; the light of the world had gone out; civilization had been destroyed forever. For most men of the day, thinkers as well as populace, all foundations had been swept away.

Then, in order to restore faith, hope and safe security, a seer, beholding within the wreckage an abiding structure, wrote a great book. The sure foundations, he declared, are not those built by human hands, but those whose maker and builder is

God. Through the ages his one increasing purpose runs. And in Augustine's vision of the City of God men not only took on new courage, but Christianity new forms as well.

For in that period and state of disruption, chaotic and lawless, the only strengthening force, constructive and disciplinary, was that of the church. Civil institutions had been almost utterly destroyed. Forced to meet the needs of the time, to perpetuate and enforce the old Roman virtues of loyalty, obedience, service, the church assumed the imperial order and in the heroic performance of its duty gained in temporal and ecclesiastical power. Thus in four hundred years, when, according to tradition, on Christmas Day, 800, the Bishop of Rome placed the crown upon the head of a new Emperor, these two powers stood upon an assumed equality —State and Church, Emperor and Pope.

Then began that order of society historically known as the Holy Roman Empire, of which Voltaire cynically remarked that it never was an empire, certainly it never had been Roman and above all it positively was not Holy. But this effort of Charlemagne to patch up the ancient empire was of little or no avail. It began to crumple like a house of cards, unable to withstand the impacts of the developing civilization. For, following upon the barbarian invasions, the social-political order of Europe was not imperialistic but feudalistic. With the tribal settlements great landed estates arose. Out of that long period of feudalism came trade and commerce; cities with their wealthy merchants and burghers, powerful and independent, were established; distinct language formations were given birth and other liberating and emancipating inventions appeared. Thus gradually great national groupings came into existence with a growing sense of unity and common interest. But still the Holy Roman Empire asserted its claims.

A Church-State, it looked upon itself as being of divine origin and therefore entrusted with the right and duty to dictate absolutely all conduct in the affairs of men. Man

was unable to provide for himself in any way whatsoever. Through generations he had been taught that he was a serf, a menial slave, incapable in himself of any good or achievement. He dare not think for himself. All that he was or had or hoped to be, whether material or spiritual in this world or the next, was obtained for him through the good offices of this Church-State operative in his behalf. He thus owed everything to this system, traditionally of supernatural origin and power.

Now, not only did such claims inevitably lay burdens upon the people too grievous to be borne but they also ran counter to the enlarging facts of experience. The crusades had opened up a new world of space and value. Humanism had discovered man's intellectual rights and powers. Already scientists were visualizing a mighty universe. Men, just common, ordinary men, were sailing the high seas, discovering new lands, setting up new forms of trade and commerce, unsettling the solid old world order, acquiring a freedom and independence, a consciousness of worth and dignity which the church could never provide but had always denied. What a revolution when the center of the world shifted from Venice to Cadiz, to Antwerp, to London. The printing press was extending knowledge to high and low everywhere. That is, man was coming into his own and daring to assert his independence of traditions.

But there were other clashes also, with their resultant evils. Knighthood of the realm, whose origin and very existence depended upon constant warfare, was striving desperately to perpetuate itself in an age of mighty merchant princes who must have peace as the prime requisite of their prosperity. Again, canon law, reaching back into the dim Mosaic period, forbad usury, and the new commercialism demanded and required its indispensable practise.

Add to this the heavy taxation to church and state carried by members of all classes; the unspeakable condition of the peasant, living in mud huts that sheltered both cattle and peo-

ple; the severity of the forest laws with their death penalty for infringement; the sensuality, luxury, gluttony of the newly rich business barons and the consequent high cost of living, which turned the anger of the masses upon the merchants, who "made hunger and slew the poor folk," and we begin to understand the Protestant Reformation. People were being ground to powder between the millstones of an ancient established power—a cruel anachronism—and the new necessities of life.

Thus at the time of the Reformation, that is, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, we have in Europe an imperial, ecclesiastical order overhead, from above, being slowly and painfully pushed aside and broken up by this new economic, national order from beneath. The struggle is not so much for the rights of the individual as it is for the rights of the group. It is a demand that peoples in their particular and peculiar environment, in the unique situation in which they may find themselves, should be permitted to manage their own affairs, work out their own destiny and fulfill their own purposes. It is fundamentally a growing national consciousness, based upon trade units in conflict with the ancient imperial form of supernatural sanction. The Reformation was an outbreak of national revolutions.

A most striking illustration of this is found as early as 1415; the Council of Constance, lords political and ecclesiastical, assembled in solemn conclave to dictate by arbitrary decree the bounds and internal affairs of peoples in the very year that England's victorious army conquered the French at the battle of Agincourt! The pronouncements of that Council were not worth the paper on which they were written in the face of the swift march of human events.

Now, people must have sanctions for their demands, their conduct and that course of life which they choose or decide upon as being in closest accord with their highest and best interests. Those sanctions we call religion. For religion is

the evaluation of life, man's search for the supremely worthwhile things and, in addition, the confirmation or substantiation of those choices. Thus the growing nationalism had to have sanctions and justifications for its demands, and the Protestant Reformation is this religious phase, the declaration of this divine support.

It is to be noticed first of all that this growth of nationalism is fairly general over all Western Europe, and that also there results over this entire section a reformation of Christianity, though it does not always take the Protestant form. It is very evident that where the old Roman Empire had been strongly established, there nationalism and consequently the religious forms remain comparatively true to the ancient patterns, that is, are Roman. There are various reasons for this.

Spain had from earliest days been an integral part of the old Roman domain. But in addition to this she had for over 700 years, that is from 700 A. D. to 1492, been under the sovereignty of the Moors. During all that time fighting for her rights and customs, she had received the aid of Rome. Consequently when she regained her freedom she remained Roman to the core, intrenched in it. The struggle against Islam had deepened her Catholicism, though under Loyola and his Jesuits she did receive a measure of reform in her religion.

France offers a unique and interesting study. As is well known, the northern part of Gaul was never as completely subjected by Rome as was the southern. The Christian church then, established by Clovis, king of the Franks, 481-511, was a French national Catholic church, not Roman Catholic. Only after Charlemagne did it become so. Thus the rebirth of nationalism in France resulted in a measure of reform by the reestablishment of the French Catholic or national church through the Edict of Nantes issued by Henry of Navarre and granting religious toleration. True, it has remained Roman Catholic in form, but France has always insisted that it is the national church, with complete separation of state and church.

In Italy alone, it may be said, there was no Reformation, since in that land, due to the dominating supremacy of Rome, nationalism was not achieved until the sixties of the past century.

But, on the other hand, in those sections where the Roman Empire had not been firmly founded the national revolution was much more radical, resulting in an utter repudiation of and complete severence from Rome. And the justification for such acts of protest are expressed in those religious terms which we call Protestant. In each case some specific occasion arose to cause the final break.

We first consider Germany, which never had been within the ancient imperial authority of Rome. The occasion for the outbreak in this land was the sale of indulgences. Why? We must remember that the Holy Roman Empire as such was forcing upon Germany the Roman Law and supplanting the Common Law. Law of divine, supernatural origin was taking the place of law born of experience and growing social needs. Indulgences belonged to the former view and practise. Their sale was based upon an old world view of repentance, faith and trust. They taught a sacramental penance rather than an actual contrition of the heart. Analogous to the ancient custom of the civil law they pardoned offenses by means of fines. In reality their sale did not seek to prevent crimes but to condone them. So indulgences were payments for the right to sin rather than regret for or the pledge not to sin. More than this, such a doctrine implicitly taught the capriciousness and unreliability of the whole universe. God was not to be trusted. His favor also was at the price of the highest bidder. That is, in practise, indulgences permitted unreliability, untrustworthy conduct, faithlessness even in business contracts upon the payment of monetary considerations to the church.

But the new forms of business, trade and commerce were based essentially and fundamentally upon faith and confidence.

The very foundation of the new structure rested upon trustworthiness, the sacredness of contracts and agreements. The opposition, then, to the sale of indulgences, that is the Protestant Reformation in Germany, in its origin, was not theological, but moral and social. The old doctrine of money recompense for moral default was not in accord with the new conscience or the practical requirements of the new age. Indeed, this view of the German Reformation finds abundant evidence in the fact that the reform movement, in the unrest and protest of the people, was on before Luther appeared upon the scene. He gave it voice, expression and leadership. Primarily even he was interested in the social welfare of his countrymen, that they should enjoy all the benefits accruing to free-born citizens of the national and spiritual kingdoms. And his doctrine of "Justification by Faith," coming later, is but the theological expression of that great truth which men had already learned by experience in the practical transactions of every day—men do live by faith, human life in all its relationships is founded upon it.

Thus Lutheranism, the religious phase of the rise of German nationalism, is the divine sanction given to the demand that Germans be given freedom to enjoy their ancient culture and customs and to manage their own affairs.

Britain, in its insular isolation, never was in entire subjection to Rome. Therefore we may look for radical action there. The English Reformation has a long history. The desire of Henry VIII to divorce Catherine is not the cause, of course, but is the occasion for the final decision to end a situation that had become unbearable. There is a long list of grievances extending back at least to the days of King John and his submission to the Papal interdict resulting in the Magna Charta of 1215. Then 150 years of oppressive Papal taxation and the protest of Wyclif, Morning Star of the Reformation, who did not so much reject the papal office as deny its temporal power. After another 150 years the break-

ing point comes when this foreign Prince, though Vicar of God, attempted to dictate to the Head of the nation in the intimate affairs of his own household. But Henry in order to gain his own personal desires simply took advantage of the national movement already powerful. So nationalism triumphed and the form of its religion was determined only because England was forced to fight for her very existence. It will be recalled that in 1493 Pope Alexander VI, by the Bull of Partition, divided the new world between Spain and Portugal, giving the latter Africa and Brazil and the former the balance of South America and all of North America. If England then was to expand and acquire new territory to feed her increasing population she was forced to fight Spain for a foothold in the territory of North America. But to fight Spain was to fight the Roman papal power, and in that conflict of dire necessity England learned she must be Protestant. Beyond all doubt Elizabeth adopted Protestantism purely as a national policy. Thus Anglicanism is the assertion of the right of Englishmen to live and control their own affairs. Nor was the issue settled until 1689, when the people called William and Mary to the throne.

The other great Reformation occurred in Switzerland, that loose federacy of city states in the Alps stronghold, which had never been wholly conquered by Rome, but through the centuries had enjoyed a large measure of freedom and independence. The occasion for the final revolt against the imperial order is not quite so evident in the case of the Swiss as with the others. It would seem to be due to the treacherous use of her mercenary troops by the Papacy. With the break-up of the empire into separate political units Switzerland, without any united Head, found the task of defending her independence increasingly difficult. For centuries she had sold her troops to Rome. Now these soldiers were needed at home for self-defense. Moreover, these Swiss as mercenary armies of Rome tended to embroil Switzerland unnecessarily with the

neighboring nationalities. Finally she consented to sell her soldiers to Rome on condition that they be not used for Papal aggression, only to find later that they had been sent against France, a power friendly to Switzerland. The result was the decision of the majority of the Cantons to break with Rome and to organize more effectively to maintain their own independence, and the Swiss reform of religion is the justification of that declaration.

Thus we find that these first three Protestant denominations, Lutheran, Anglican and Calvinistic or Presbyterian, had their origins in nationalistic aspirations and achievements. They are the daring and heroic assertion of the divine demand for human rights, personal liberty and individual worth. We are not speaking so much of Lutherans, Anglicans and Presbyterians as of mankind, human beings in their first faint vision of man's greatness and their determination to make it real. In the glory of that first hope they believed that religious freedom, or more truly that man's supreme good, would be acquired in and through his political freedom. That was a marvellous boon. But of course it could not be.

The common people did not gain their heart's yearning in any of these national triumphs. In fact in every case they were cruelly suppressed. Luther himself called for the bloody punishment of the peasants in their revolt. With genuine faith and hope he placed authority in religious affairs in the hands of the political powers, resulting in the final agreement of peace, *Cujus regio hujus religio,* the religion of the prince shall be the religion of the territory.

Likewise in England the attempt of Puritan and Separatist to obtain a fuller measure of popular liberty was long crushed by the national powers of state and church. Technically, supreme authority in ecclesiastical affairs was resident in the sovereign and every effort was made to enforce strict conformity. The sovereign was substituted for the Pope as earthly head of the Church.

In Switzerland, whether under Zwingli or Calvin, no deviation from the established order was tolerated. Officially authority was placed in the scriptures, but the Biblical form, civilly and ecclesiastically, was a theocracy which in practise gave power to the cooperating boards of elders and magistrates, the personnel of which was often interlocking.

Thus in each of these countries the church was a department of state and the form of the ecclesiastical organization was in accord with that of the civil establishment. In each case the gain was largely a substitution of a local power of control in matters of religion for the former foreign one. Inner, spiritual authority could not yet be recognized. That is to say, the Protestant Reformation in its inception represents the ascendancy of European nationalism.

Real individual liberty, civil and religious, came much later and only through terrible pain and struggle. Throughout all Europe the common folk had to fight for their human rights and privileges against their own national autocratic governments even as the nationalists had to contend for theirs against the supernaturalism of the Holy Roman Empire. Consequently the increasing growth of liberty in Christianity and the rise of later denominations represents the development of democracy as the early ones denote the birth of nationalism.

Everywhere on the continent we discover these groups of serfs and peasants demanding their natural rights as human beings and justifying those demands upon the radical principles of a free personal religious life and experience. From Bohemia come the Moravian Brethren, disciples of the martyred John Hus, butchered in the religious wars that followed. In all lands arose other radicals, bearing the general name Anabaptists, a term of reproach and condemnation. And visionaries, fanatics, communists some of them may have been, as witness their tragic attempts in Münster. Out of Germany came the Pietists, seekers after a spiritual kingdom established within the heart of man. But their early efforts were of little

avail. The cruel terror of the Thirty Years' War wiped out these yearnings of the inner spirit in oceans of blood. Nowhere on the continent did the people triumph save perhaps in Holland, that land as independent and free as the sea, whither Calvinism had migrated. The new national states enforced religious conformity as the ancient imperial power had compelled submission.

In Britain, however, religious toleration, that is, democracy in religion, was achieved, but not before 1689, with the coming of William and Mary to the throne, almost two hundred years after Henry VIII secured his divorce by snatching the ecclesiastical crown from the papal brow. The history is long, involved, but intensely interesting, for the rise of the later denominations, the so-called nonconformists, coordinates with the rise of the free, independent trade groups. As early as the fifteenth century this class had arisen in England, Henry VII having lent them his powerful support in the interest of his own nationalistic schemes. Later they were incorporated as the Merchant Adventurers of England.

That is, there were common men, mostly of the southeastern section of England, who of their own accord and initiative compacted or contracted together to carry on trade with continental merchants across the narrow English Channel. In time the philosophical implications of this free action dawned upon them. They said, " If we can thus separate ourselves from the larger society of the land and contract together for trade what can hinder us from so separating from the general social order of the church and covenant together for religious purposes. And what can hinder us from so separating and compacting for civil affairs." Thus they are known to us as Separatists.

One of very many groups was organized at Gainsborough, northeast of London. It increased so rapidly that it was forced to divide amicably, one congregation meeting at Scrooby with Pastor John Robinson, the other remaining at Gainsborough

with Pastor John Smyth. Due to severe persecution these two groups, with others, were exiled to Holland. The Scrooby or Robinson group settled at Leyden and later many of them came to America, the Pilgrim Fathers of 1620. The Smyth group, coming in touch with the Anabaptists or Mennonites of Holland, became the founders of the English Baptists, 1608. The difference between the Baptists and Congregationalists was that the former declared that the principle of freedom of conscience denied the rite of infant baptism, since the latter was a religious act without the person's consent. Not till thirty-three years later, 1641, did Baptists immerse.

Had we space it might be shown that the rise of denominations and sects in America also reflect the civil and social forms peculiar to this country.

The Shakers, Mormons, and other communistic groups represent the stern economic struggles of the pioneers migrating westward in the early decades of the national developments. The Disciples of Christ and the Christian bodies, rising early in the nineteenth century, in polity and organization portray the national achievement of personal freedom and state sovereignty subject to and guaranteed by federal authority.

The Adventists of 1840, following the unparalleled financial depression of 1837, typify the age-old assertion of the human spirit to triumph over every disaster; the Millennial Hope ever born in the midst of earth's most crushing experiences. The Christian Scientists, arising in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, represent the effort to find peace, assurance, certainty in the midst of the mad rush and drive of newly emerging cities and gigantic industrial enterprises.

Thus the history of Christianity is the history of the struggles of peoples through imperialism to nationalism to democracy. It is the search of the human spirit for independence and supremacy. Can we say that the victory—the right of the individual to that life abundant—has yet been won?

THE NATURE OF PAUL'S CONVERSION

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Of all the phenomena recorded in the New Testament, perhaps none has aroused more interest on the part of biographer, psychologist, historian, and general reader than that experience in the life of Paul popularly known as his conversion. Although some of this interest may have been based upon idle curiosity, most of it has been not only natural, but abundantly justified by the tremendous significance of the event.

We find its consequences not only in the later life of Paul himself and in his subsequent doctrines, but also in the history of the Christian church, an institution which, so far as we are able to judge, owes its very existence to the religious experience of Paul. Without minimizing the greatness of Jesus, the student of history can readily see that, had it not been for the work of Paul, Jesus' Palestinian followers would have remained a little sect in Judaism which would probably have died out in the course of a few hundred years, at most. As Wernle puts it,

> It was he [Paul] who brought Christianity out of Palestine and transplanted it among the Greeks and Romans, chief of all the civilized nations. It could no longer now remain a mere Jewish sect. It had to measure its strength with the religions, the civilization, and the philosophy of the leading nations of the world's history. . . It was bound to undergo a radical transformation, not merely of external form, but of innermost essence. . . The new start is one of such importance that we must distinguish the pre-Pauline from the post-Pauline Christianity, or, what amounts to the same thing, the Palestinian sect from the world religion.[1]

Since results so great as this followed in the wake of Paul's religious experience, we are naturally interested in learning as much as possible about it; in ascertaining what

[1] Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. I, p. 159.

were the external phenomena, the inner experiences, and the antecedent causes; in seeing what explanations are commonly offered; and in ascertaining whether or not they are satisfactory.

The acts of the Apostles contains three accounts of Paul's conversion. The first is given in the third person by the author; the second purports to be the speech of Paul delivered from the steps of the barracks to the hostile crowd at Jerusalem; and the third is the defense put into the mouth of Paul as he pleads his innocence before Agrippa at Cæsarea. The student of Acts feels that all are the compositions of the author, but their importance is not greatly diminished by that fact. If the three accounts agree, if they are self consistent, if they agree with, or at least do not contradict, Paul's testimony as to this experience in his epistles, if they ring true to the character of Paul, and if they reveal not too much artistry by the author, we are justified in feeling that they are based on some tradition or written source which may have come, indirectly, from Paul.

We therefore turn to the Acts accounts.[2] (See page 470.)

Let us first note the agreements and disagreements in these passages.

I. *Agreements*

a. In all three. (1) Saul was an ardent persecutor of the Christian group. (2) He secured documental authority from the high priest against the Christians in Damascus. (3) He was traveling to Damascus. (4) The experience occurred along the road. (5) A light from heaven shone around him. (6) He fell to the ground. (7) He heard a voice saying, "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?" (8) He asked, "Who are you?" (9) The answer was, "I am Jesus, and you are persecuting me." (10) Traveling companions were accompanying Saul. (Assumed in all.) (11) These companions

[2] Moffatt's translation.

Acts 9: 1-9	Acts 22: 4-11	Acts 26: 12-19
Meanwhile Saul still breathed threats of murder against the disciples of the Lord.	"I persecuted this Way of religion to the death, chaining and imprisoning both men and women, as the high priest and all the council of elders can testify.	"In my frantic fury I persecuted them even to foreign towns.
He went to the high priest and asked him for letters to the synagogues at Damascus empowering him to put any man or woman in chains whom he could find belonging to the Way, and bring them to Jerusalem.	It was from them that I got letters to the brotherhood at Damascus and then journeyed thither to bind those who had gathered there and bring them back to Jerusalem for punishment.	I was travelling to Damascus on this business, with authority and a commission from the high priest,
As he neared Damascus in the course of his journey, suddenly a light from heaven flashed round him;	Now as I neared Damascus on my journey, suddenly about noon, a brilliant light from heaven flashed round me.	when at mid day on the road, O king, I saw a light from heaven, more dazzling than the sun, flash round me and my fellow-travellers.
he dropped to the ground and heard a voice saying to him,	I dropped to the earth and heard a voice saying to me,	We all fell to the ground, and I heard a voice saying to me in Hebrew,
"Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?"	'Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?'	'Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me? You hurt yourself by kicking at the goad.'
"Who are you?" he asked. "I am Jesus," he said, "and you persecute me. Get up and go into the city. There you will be told what you have to do."	'Who are you?' I asked. He said to me, 'I am Jesus the Nazarene, and you are persecuting me.'	'Who are you?' I asked. And the Lord said, 'I am Jesus, and you are persecuting me. Now get up and *stand on your feet,* for I have appeared to you in order to appoint you to my service as a witness to what you have seen and to the visions you shall have of me. *I will rescue you* from the People and also *from the Gentiles—to whom I send you, that* their *eyes may be opened* and that they may turn *from darkness to light,* from the power of Satan to God, to get remission of their sins and an inheritance among those who are consecrated by faith in me.'"
His fellow-travellers stood speechless, for they heard the voice but they could not see anyone.	(My companions saw the light, but they did not hear the voice of him who talked to me.) I said, 'What am I to do?' And the Lord said to me, 'Get up and make your way into Damascus; there you shall be told about all you are destined to do.'	
Saul got up from the ground, but though his eyes were open he could see nothing; so they took his hand and led him to Damascus.	As I could not see owing to the dazzling glare of that light, my companions took my hand and so I reached Damascus."	

The account of the part played by Ananias then follows in these two.

shared in at least part of the external experience. (12) The voice commanded Saul to get up. (13) The experience convinced him of his mission. (14) He obeyed.

b. In two. (1) Saul intended to bind the Damascus Christians and bring them to Jerusalem.[3] (2) The experience came as Saul was nearing Damascus. (3) The light appeared about noon.[4] (4) Its appearance was sudden.[3] (5) The light was very brilliant.[4] (6) Saul was blinded by the glare.[3] (7) The voice told him that he would receive further instructions in the city.[5] (8) He was led into Damascus by his companions.[3] (9) Sight was restored and the divine commission given by Ananias.[3]

c. In only one. (1) The companions fell to the ground.[5] (2) The companions heard the voice, but saw no one.[6] (3) The companions saw the light, but heard nothing.[7, 8] (4) The voice said, "It is hard for you to kick against the goad."[5] (5) The voice spoke in Aramaic.[5]

Such a comparison reveals several interesting points. It suggests that the account in Acts 26 is considerably shortened by the author in line with his purpose, namely: to make the defense before Agrippa largely apologetic, and to lay particular stress on the validity of Paul's call to the Gentiles. This is supported by the fact that in every case where two of the three accounts agree (with one exception) the two are chapters 9 and 22, and the parallel statement is omitted from chapter 26, rather than being contradictory. In two other cases, as indicated, the agreement in all three is implicit, although not verbal. In one (the part played by Ananias) the difference, and apparent contradiction, seems to be accounted for by the foreshortening of the account in chapter 26.

[3] Acts 9 and 22.
[4] Acts 22 and 26.
[5] Acts 26.
[6] Acts 9.
[7] Acts 22.
[8] In the case of these details, i. e. points 2 and 3, it looks as if the author had heard or surmised one statement or the other, but had not heard or repeated it often enough to have it very well fixed in mind. So, in repeating it, he reverses the details, as most of us have occasionally done in repeating stories.

II. *Disagreements*

When these facts are taken into consideration we are obligated to conclude:

1. That the disagreement in all three, as to how much of the experience the traveling companions shared, indicates that the detail is merely incidental.

2. That the omission of the time ("about noon") by one suggests that it is also incidental.

3. That the omission by one of the part played by Ananias, when the author's purpose so required, shows that even this incident was not deemed of great importance as compared with the fundamental facts of the change in Paul, and his commission.

4. That the only difference of any real moment is the incorporation, in one account, of the words, "It is hard for you to kick against the goad." No clue as to this is given.

5. That the accounts agree in essential details.

6. That the disagreements are not in the direction of any one tendency.

7. That the stories seem, therefore, to be but three different versions of a single account.

Our next task is to see what Paul himself says in his letters, either explicitly or by implication, about this experience, or the results of it in his life, and to compare his statements with the accounts in Acts which purport to give it, by way of applying a further test to the accounts already studied, and of ascertaining Paul's interpretation of the event.

Some of these passages, according to Moffatt's translation are:

> Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God.[9]
>
> Paul an apostle—not appointed by men nor commissioned by any man but by Jesus Christ and God the father who raised him from the dead.[10]

[9] Rom. 1: 1. [10] Gal. 1: 1.

You know the story of my past career in Judaism; you know how furiously I persecuted the church of God and harried it, and how I outstripped many of my own age and race in my special ardour for the ancestral traditions of my house. But the God who had set me apart *from my very birth called* me by his grace, and when he chose to reveal his Son to me, that I might preach him to the Gentiles, instead of consulting with any human being, instead of going up to Jerusalem to see those who had been apostles before me, I went off at once to Arabia, and on my return I came back to Damascus.[11]

Personally I was quite unknown to the Christian churches of Judæa; they merely heard that 'our former persecutor is now preaching the faith he once harried,' which made them praise God for me.[12]

Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?[13]

And finally, he was seen by myself, by this so-called 'abortion' of an apostle. For I am the very least of the apostles, unfit to bear the name of apostle, since I persecuted the church of God. But by God's grace I am what I am.[14]

What I am proud of is not the mere preaching of the gospel; that I am constrained to do. Woe to me if I do not preach the gospel.[15]

For God who said, "Light shall shine out of darkness," has shone within my heart to illuminate men with the knowledge of God's glory in the face of Christ.[16]

It is all the doing of the God who has reconciled me to himself through Christ and has permitted me to be a minister of his reconciliation.[17]

Such is the gospel which I was called to serve by the endowment of God's grace which was vouchsafed me, by the energy of his power; less than the least of all saints as I am, this grace was vouchsafed me, that I should bring the Gentiles the gospel of the fathomless wealth of Christ and enlighten all men upon the new order of that divine secret which God the creator of all concealed from eternity.[18]

. . . interceding on behalf of all the saints and on my behalf also, that I may be allowed to speak and open my lips in order to expound fully and freely that open secret of the gospel for the sake of which I am in custody as its envoy.[19]

. . . and pray for me as well, that God may give me an opening for the word, to speak of the open secret of Christ for which I am in custody.[20]

[11] Gal. 1: 13-17.
[12] Gal. 1: 22-24.
[13] 1 Cor. 9: 1.
[14] 1 Cor. 15: 8-10.
[15] 1 Cor. 9: 16.
[16] 2 Cor. 4: 6.
[17] 2 Cor. 5: 18.
[18] Eph. 3: 7-10.
[19] Eph. 6: 18-20.
[20] Col. 4: 3.

I am a minister of the church by the divine commission which has been granted me in your interests, to make a full presentation of God's message—of that open secret which, though concealed from ages and generations of old, has now been disclosed to the saints of God.[21]

I was . . . in point of ardour a persecutor of the church, immaculate by the standard of legal righteousness. But for Christ's sake I have learned to count my former gains a loss; indeed I count anything a loss, compared with the supreme value of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord.[22]

Not that I have already attained this or am already perfect, but I press forward to appropriate it, because I have been appropriated myself by Christ Jesus.[23]

The many statements made in these different passages, referring either to Paul's conversion or to some aspect of his subsequent life which seems directly traceable to that experience as its source, may be summarized thus:

1. Paul was, before his singular experience, a persecutor of the church.

2. He subsequently called himself an apostle.

3. He felt himself appointed to this by Christ, in accordance with the will of God.

4. He claimed to have seen Jesus.

5. He expressed his experience of Christ in varied language, as:

a. The revelation of God's son to him.[24]

b. God shining within his heart.[25]

c. The endowment of God's grace.[26]

6. This experience had inevitable consequences in his life To it he traced his apostleship, his call to the Gentiles, etc.

Comparing these results with our findings as to the accounts in Acts, we notice that there is general agreement, but a difference of emphasis. "Luke" lays particular stress on the external experience; Paul on the internal. "Luke" is careful to emphasize the details of the event; Paul the results.

[21] Col. 1: 25, 26.
[22] Phil. 3: 6-8.
[23] Phil. 3: 12.
[24] Gal. 1: 16.
[25] 2 Cor. 4: 6.
[26] Eph. 3: 7.

There are two other questions which need to be treated before an evaluation of the evidence can be made. The first is a comparison of Luke's stories of Paul's conversion with the calls of Old Testament heroes. The second is a study of Luke's use of visions.

I. *The Calls of Old Testament Heroes*

The author of Acts, like many other early Christian writers, was exceedingly fond of Old Testament quotations. Although a Gentile himself, he loved the Old Testament, and had thoroughly assimilated the idea so much stressed by the fathers, that it was primarily a Christian book, that it had been written for Christians in the first place, and that every event of Christian history was written there for him who had the insight to discover the true meaning of its words. With such an attitude as this, the Old Testament could not but have had some effect upon his writings. In weaving his story from the scattered sources which were evidently his, constructive imagination must needs be used, and it was but natural that in many cases, particularly where his sources were fragmentary, and his chronology all but wanting, he should turn with relief to the pattern laid down in the Old Testament. Here was the conventional way of doing certain things. What more fitting than that the saints of which he was writing should follow this orthodox pattern; and what more true, since that was proper conduct, and they proper people? That the author followed some such scheme seems more than speculative. Such incidents as the forty days post-resurrection ministry and the ascension indicate that it was an accepted method.

Since this was the case, it is legitimate to examine the conventional Old Testament calls of individuals to the service of Jehovah in an attempt to discover whether the story in Acts follows in any of its details an established pattern.

It seems that it was customary for some of the greater Old Testament worthies to have been personally called by

Jehovah to their places of leadership. This was particularly true of those who were to usher in what the author regarded as a new phase of Israel's history. A survey of these calls is most interesting. Abraham was called directly by Jehovah.

Now Jehovah said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred and from thy father's house, unto the land that I will show thee; and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and be thou a blessing: and I will bless them that bless thee, and him that curseth thee will I curse; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.[27]

The next individual to receive a formal call was Moses.

And the angel of Jehovah appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. And Moses said, I will turn aside now, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt. And when Jehovah saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I. And he said, draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. Moreover he said, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his face; for he was afraid to look upon God. And Jehovah said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people that are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their task masters; for I know their sorrows; . . Come now therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people, the children of Israel, out of Egypt.[28]

Samuel, who was held to be the outstanding judge and semi-prophet, was also called. After two chapters dealing with the prenatal consecration of Samuel, the later consecration of the child, and Hannah's prophetic prayer, his call is described:

And it came to pass at that time, when Eli was laid down in his place . . . and the lamp of God was not yet gone out, and Samuel was laid down *to sleep,* in the temple of Jehovah, . . that Jehovah called Samuel: and he said, Here am I. And he ran unto Eli, and said, Here am I; for

[27] Gen. 12: 1-3.
[28] Exod. 3: 2-7, 10.

thou calledst me. And he said, I called not; lie down again. And he went and lay down. And Jehovah called yet again, Samuel. And Samuel arose and went to Eli, and said, Here am I; for thou calledst me. And he answered, I called not, my son; lie down again. . . And Jehovah called Samuel again the third time. And he arose and went to Eli, and said, Here am I; for thou calledst me. And Eli perceived that Jehovah had called the child. Therefore Eli said unto Samuel, Go, lie down: and it shall be, if he call thee, that thou shalt say, Speak, Jehovah; for thy servant heareth. So Samuel went and lay down in his place. And Jehovah came, and stood, and called as at other times, Samuel, Samuel, Then Samuel said, Speak; for thy servant heareth.[29]

The prophets had visions of various types. Aside from the usual statement, "The word of the Lord came to —— saying," . . as a justification for the message of each, two personal calls are recorded. The first is Isaiah's, in his famous vision.

I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up; and his train filled the temple. . . And I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Then I said, Here am I; send me. And he said, Go, and tell this people, etc.[30]

Similar to it is Jeremiah's call.

Now the word of Jehovah came unto me, saying, Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee, and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee; I have appointed thee a prophet unto the nations. Then said I, Ah, Lord Jehovah! behold, I know not how to speak; for I am a child. But Jehovah said unto me, Say not, I am a child; for to whomsoever I shall send thee thou shalt go, and whatsoever I shall command thee, thou shalt speak. . . Then Jehovah put forth his hand, and touched my mouth; and Jehovah said unto me, Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth.[31]

In these there is a general pattern. In at least three of the five examples Jehovah manifests himself in some external way. In all he addressed the person called. In the cases of Moses and Samuel he repeats the name of the individual twice. The conventional reply seems to be, "Here am I," [32] and it

[29] 1 Sam. 3: 2-10.
[30] Isa. 6: 1, 8, 9, and often.
[31] Jer. 1: 4-9.
[32] See the calls of Moses, Samuel, and Isaiah.

is often followed by a question as to what the recipient is to do, or a bit of argument, in true Oriental fashion, as to qualifications. Invariably the call closes with, or is followed by, instructions as to something which the person called is to do in the service of Jehovah. Accompanying phenomena may be absent,[33] or may not be described.[34] When mentioned, they are seen to be various—a burning bush in the case of Moses, or the temple furnishings, including seraphim, smoking incense, and live coals, in that of Isaiah. In all, however, the voice is the predominant feature.

II. *Luke's Use of Visions*

The reader of Luke and Acts who pays particular attention to the visions recorded therein cannot but be struck with the fact that they serve a definite purpose in the author's literary scheme. As he tells his story he finds, as most writers do, some difficulty in telling simultaneous events without destroying their temporal relationship, and in accounting in a rational way for all the events that occur. Like every good writer, he realizes that both of these are essential, and so he uses visions [35] as a device for securing this, much as dramatists use prologues, soliloquies, and "asides," and novelists use chapters beginning "in the meantime," conversations, and character delineations. The scheme is not original with Luke, for it occurs to a greater or less extent in all the narratives of the period, but it is used by him with skill and charm.

This use of visions is manifested by Luke at the very outset, as he tells the birth stories. The desired relationship of John and Jesus is assured by supernatural appearances before the birth of both. The rather delicate question of a supernatural conception is neatly explained by Gabriel. This done, much difficult explanation between Mary and Elizabeth is made unnecessary, and so the artistry continues.

[33] As was apparently true in the call of Abraham.
[34] As seems to be the case in the calls of Samuel and Jeremiah.
[35] The speeches of Luke-Acts perform a similar function.

In the book of Acts the device is used with equal success. The well-nigh impossible task of explaining the conversion of Peter to interest in Gentile missions is achieved by a vision, and the reception of so conservative a Jew by a Roman centurion is similarly accounted for. The value of a vision in achieving Paul's great and sudden change of conviction is obvious, and Luke uses it with great skill. The two visions after the initial experience—one to Paul and the other to Ananias—are clever devices for securing the welcome of the blind Saul by Ananias, who might otherwise have suspected him; and for gaining admission for the hated Saul into the Christian group. Later in the story the Macedonian call is the chief justification for Paul's entrance into Europe with his message. The assurance of Paul's close union with Christ, which makes his miracles and his hairbreadth escapes more plausible, is secured by the many visions which direct his journeyings and frequently warn or prophesy wisely.[36] As one reads these stories he sees an author who is sincere, an author who admires Paul, and one who is so convinced of the close union of the latter with the supernatural that he does not for a moment doubt what he writes, who is using his sympathetic imagination as all tellers of good stories must, but who is, nevertheless, slipping into a conventional literary device, and is using it with telling effect.

We now have at our disposal a mass of material for the evaluation of Paul's experience—the testimony of Acts and of Paul's epistles, the typical Old Testament calls, and Luke's customary use of visions. Before drawing our own conclusions it might be well to sketch briefly the most commonly held theories explaining Paul's conversion, and to weigh the evidence for each.[37]

1. The literal theory. This one is well known and needs little comment. It is the theory which harmonizes the

[36] As in the case of the last visit to Jerusalem or the outcome of the shipwreck.

[37] In every case the name applied is original and is used to suggest the nature of the theory, rather than to state the most widely known name.

three accounts in Acts, overlooks discrepancies, and takes the statements as they stand. It insists that the experience was wholly from above, and that it had no antecedents in Paul's experience. It makes no attempt to analyze or understand, but puts its emphasis solely on belief. The difficulties of such a theory are so obvious that they hardly need refutation. The student of history, if he would learn anything about the actual situation, must go further.

2. Natural theories. These are theories propounded by people who, while not greatly disturbed as to the nature of the experience from Paul's point of view, including its causes and results, are tremendously exercised over the physical details given in the Acts accounts, and seek to explain them on a natural basis. These theories fall into two main classes:

a. Objective. Adherents of these are most interested in the happenings on the Damascus road, external to Paul. What, they ask, caused the light, the voice, the falling to the ground, the blindness? Lightning and sunstroke are probably the most popular answers to this query. We can pass such theories by as relatively inconsequential, because (1) They fail to take into account the structure of the stories as literary productions. (2) They can bring forth little evidence which does not equally well support practically any other theory. (3) They put too little emphasis on the personal element.

b. Subjective. Here again attention is concentrated on the Damascus road and the events that occurred there, but in them, attention is shifted to the subject. External phenomena are minimized and the entire story is explained as the interpretation by an individual of a subjective state, confined to the stated time and place, sudden, and unexpected. Some pathological condition, physical, mental, or both, is usually postulated to meet the situation, and is related to the " thorn in the flesh " and to the words, " I have no complaint against you; no, although it was because of an illness (you know) that I preached the gospel to you on my former visit, and

though my flesh was a trial to you, you did not scoff at me nor spurn me, you welcomed me like an angel of God, like Christ Jesus." [38] The most commonly postulated ailment is epilepsy, which, it is maintained, would account for the falling, the trance, the temporary disability following, and the refreshment experienced when the state had passed.

Here again the evidence does not warrant acceptance of the theory, because: (1) The buttressing evidence is inadequate. The "thorn in the flesh" may not have been physical; speculation as to its meaning is quite idle. The account of illness in Galatians 4 suggests nothing as to its nature, and our knowledge of Paul would imply that he was a man of rugged physique. Ability to endure long journeys, shipwrecks, loss of sleep, hunger, hard work, and mental anxiety without apparent loss of health [39] indicates a degree of physical vigor hardly imaginable in an epileptic. A nervous and emotional temperament, intense and fiery, one given to passionate outbursts and the occasional seeing of visions [40] we are justified in accepting, but hardly more. (2) The main argument is by no means conclusive. There is nothing to preclude the expression of a vision or spiritual experience in the terms given. (3) Like the objective natural theories, its emphasis seems misplaced, and is on external accompaniments rather than on internal realities. (4) The opposition to an epileptic Christian leader which we should expect to find in hostile literature is wanting. Nowhere does Paul seem to be refuting an attack on this ground, and nowhere in the early Christian literature which we have is such a defense found. The Clementine Homilies do assure Simon Magus that visions and dreams may come from demons as well as from God,[41] but they do not, and evidently cannot, accuse him of demon possession, a charge which would have been almost certain if Paul had been an epileptic.

[38] Gal. 4: 13-15, Moffatt's translation.
[39] See 2 Cor. 11: 24-29.
[40] 1 Cor. 14: 18; 2 Cor. 12: 1-4.
[41] Homily 17: 13-19.

3. Mental projection theory. This is the famous Tübingen theory, begun by Baur [42] and further developed by Holsten.[43] It pictures Paul as thinking over the Christian arguments he had so often heard from his victims, and asking himself such questions as: If these persons are really right, what would be the implications for Judaism; for the world; for me? His thought centered particularly around the crucifixion in line with the teaching, " He that is hanged is accursed of God." [44] That the Messiah should suffer such a death was inconceivable, yet the Christians held to the resurrection as vindicating Jesus' claim to this high honor. How was the problem to be solved? Even while Paul was persecuting, he was laboring with the problem, and was gradually becoming convinced. It was not without a wrench, however, that he was enabled to surrender the old. In this final conflict, Paul is pictured as in a state of mental confusion comparable to blindness. At last he battles his way through. The resulting sense of relief resembles nothing so much as the recovery of sight. So Paul tells the story, translating mental experiences into extra-mental events, and originating the account, or the basis of the accounts, in Acts.

This theory is more interesting than the two preceding, and more intelligent, in that it is less literal, and more interested in antecedents. Its weakness, however, lies in its very cleverness.[45] As a matter of fact, people do not tell mental experiences in terms of external phenomena without making it clear that they are using symbols to eke out the inadequacies of language. When this is done [46] the reader feels that it is the result of an author's poetic insight playing upon a situation and recording it in figurative language. One scarcely gets this impression from Luke's accounts of Paul's conversion. We

[42] Baur, *Paul.*

[43] Holsten, *Zum Evangelium des Paulus und des Petrus,* pp. 3-114.

[44] Deut. 21: 23.

[45] Cf. the Law of Parsimony—that of several rival hypotheses equally good in other respects, science favors the one which affords the simplest explanation.

[46] As in Matthew's account of the temptations of Jesus—Matt. 4: 1-11.

are obliged to conclude, then, that the Tübingen scholars, like the rest, were hazarding a guess. Interesting and valuable it might be, but the summoning of much evidence in its favor was necessarily out of the question.

4. Split personality theory. This theory pictures Paul, before his conversion, as driven from pillar to post by conflicting purposes. God, the law, and his fellow men, according to the theory, rival one another for the dominant place in the ardent young Jew's affections. The pressure of Jewish training conflicts with independent thought as to the person of Jesus. Desire to act in one way and external pressure, all the forces of social heredity and public opinion, are constantly warring. Conversion is seen as the climax to the gradual unification of life, and the resulting peace and conviction of apostleship are held to be direct results of the hitherto unknown sense of wholeness.

This theory, likewise, is untenable because we lack sufficient data to establish it. Of all possible fields of investigation, human personality is the most difficult and elusive. Behavior, *per se,* indicates nothing. It can have significance for the psychologist only when it is seen in relation to the entire life-history of the individual. The student of personality must ask not only why does the individual react as he does, but why does he feel as he does; what situations in his infancy and early childhood built up these feeling-patterns; and what were the conditions in his home which made them inevitable? It is only after a minute examination of the paternity and fraternity of a patient, a careful study of his home, his social and educational history, his experiences in earning a livelihood, his sex life, his friendships and recreation, and his religious loyalties that a diagnosis can be made. Obviously this is impossible in the case of Paul. Except that he was born in Tarsus of Jewish parents, that his father was a Roman citizen, that he was educated as a Pharisee and became a tent-maker, we know practically nothing until he emerges

as the persecutor of Acts. Acts gives one hint that he had a sister living in or near Jerusalem,[47] but even that is merely suggested. No serious psychoanalyst would attempt to base an argument upon such fragmentary evidence. The theory must, therefore, remain wholly speculative.

5. Burden-of-the-law theory. This is by all odds the most popular and widely held theory, and a strong case can be made for it. There are several variations of it, but the most common seems to be that Paul was, as he says, "Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; concerning zeal, persecuting the church; touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless," [48] that the general outline of the accounts of Acts 9, 22 and 26, and the story of Paul's life as given in Acts (and particularly his place in the persecution of Stephen) are to be accepted.

Upon this foundation it builds an elaborate structure. Using the pattern of Augustine or Luther, it sees Paul as striving with meticulous care to find peace and joy by the absolute keeping of the law. In support of this, its adherents cite such passages as these:

> The Law thus held us wards in discipline, till such time as Christ came, that we might be justified by faith. But faith has come, and we are wards no longer.[49]
>
> The sting of death is sin: and the strength of sin is the law.[50]
>
> . . . Had it not been for the Law, I would never have known what sin meant! Thus I would never have known what it is to covet, unless the Law had said, *You must not covet.* The command gave an impulse to sin, and sin resulted for me in all manner of covetous desire—for sin, apart from the law, is lifeless. I lived at one time without law myself, but when the command came home to me, sin sprang to life and I died; the command that meant life proved death for me.[51]

[47] Acts 23: 16.
[48] Phil. 3: 5, 6.
[49] Gal. 3: 24, 25, Moffatt's translation.
[50] 1 Cor. 15: 56.
[51] Rom. 7: 7-10, Moffatt.

This fact, it is maintained, inaugurated within Paul a gnawing discontent, a dissatisfaction so deeply rooted and distressing that the passionate youth flung all the force of an energetic personality into the struggle against this doubt. This effort expressed itself in persecution of an offending sect. The results, however, were far from satisfactory. Instead of quenching the fire, they but added fuel to it, in the form of such questions as: What do these people have which I lack? What makes them so devoted to their beliefs that even death cannot shake their convictions? By this contrast the inadequacy of the law was emphasized, and an alternative was suggested. Fiercer and fiercer became the conflict, and more and more desperate the persecution until finally the heroic death of Stephen brought the matter to an issue, and Paul, convinced, heard the voice saying, "It is hard for you to kick against the goad." Like the obstinate camel, resisting the driver, and in so doing inflicting upon himself wound after wound from the relentless camel hook, he saw himself opposing the will of God. That the procedure was futile needed no further demonstration. He therefore gave up the law and all his Jewish leanings at once, and thereafter sought to oppose it and to champion vigorously the cause of those who had been his former victims.

This theory is in many ways attractive. It allows the actual vision to be interpreted by each one as he will, supernaturally, naturally, or in any other manner. Its interest is primarily in getting at the root of the matter. Then, too, it neatly explains the baffling words, "It is hard for you to kick against the goad." Despite these advantages, however, there are some real objections to it, such as:

1. The emphasis placed by most of its adherents upon the death of Stephen as the final argument, so to speak, needed to clinch the matter of Paul's mistake in his own mind. If Paul's statement in Galatians be correct [52]—and we have every reason

[52] Gal. 1: 10-24.

to believe that it is—Paul had apparently never been in Jerusalem before the time of his conversion, and so could hardly have witnessed this event. Even if we grant his presence, we know very little to indicate that the experience would have been any more moving than would the deaths of dozens of other Christians which he had doubtless witnessed. The speech of Stephen reported in Acts[53] is so much beside the point, so like the speeches of Peter and Paul, and so obviously patterned after the experiences and words of Jesus that we are obliged to feel that it is "Lucanized" beyond recognition. This argument, then, is invalidated.

2. The fact that the theory seems unfounded in its position as to the law, for:

a. The view of the law supposed to have been held by Paul before his conversion is based mainly upon the seventh chapter of Romans. This passage,[54] although usually taken to be autobiographical, should rather be seen as an example of Paul's use of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe, a popular style of street corner preaching in the Græco-Roman world of Paul's day. Its truncated dialogue, its series of short rhetorical questions, its typical ejaculation, "God forbid!" its use of "I" in a figurative sense, expressing Paul's opposition to the law as a code for the guidance of his Gentile converts as though it were hostile to him, personally, all mark it as typical of that form of address which Paul had probably "picked up" in his journeyings, and which he used naturally and effectively.[55]

b. The theory takes no account of the normal processes of growth and development. It takes words spoken in Paul's mature life, after years of struggle have forced him to a position which originally would have been quite foreign to him, and quotes them as if uttered immediately after the Damascus road experience. The seventh chapter of Romans, already mentioned, is an excellent example of this, for it was written

[53] Acts 7: 2-53.
[54] Rom. 7: 7ff.
[55] See Enslin, *The Ethics of Paul*, pp. 41-43.

after twenty years, more or less, and lay between him and the beginning of his Christian life.

c. The theory fails to recognize Paul's proximity to the law, even when his philosophy of life had matured. This was undoubtedly a fact. As Enslin says:

> Its influence upon him, while now weakened, had left its indelible stamp. He could even refer to the new system as a law: 'Where, then, is the glorying? It is excluded. By what manner of law? of works? Nay: but by a law of faith.' (Rom. 3:27.) He could speak of himself as 'under law to Christ' (1 Cor. 9:21.) and could urge his followers to act in such a way as to "fulfil the law of Christ" (Gal. 6:2). As a matter of fact, Paul occasionally makes definite reference to the law as a criterion for Christian conduct which gives weight to his own words: 'Do I speak these things after the manner of men? or saith not the law also the same?' Then follow the familiar words of Deut. 25:4 which he declares were written for Christians (1 Cor. 9:8). Or again his insistence that women keep silence in the churches is buttressed by an appeal to the law. (1 Cor. 14:34.)[56]

These objections seem sufficiently strong to undercut the argument effectively.

If, then, none of the more common theories can be held, what are we to conclude? In the first place, the term conversion, although retained for convenience, must be recognized as a misnomer. Although the word alone is quite colorless, and means simply a turning about, its connotations give it a definite meaning which we cannot accept as valid for Paul. Conversion, in the popular sense, implies a radical change in one's manner of life ethically speaking; a change frequently preceded by a sense of guilt, repentance, and faith, in the broad sense of trust which includes not only mental assent but moral consent, and stakes life itself on the worth of the object of devotion. In Paul all this was quite different. So far as we are able to say there was no sense of guilt, and no repentance. That there was faith is undoubted, yet there had been faith before, and in the broadest possible sense. All that changed

[56] *The Ethics of Paul*, p. 87.

was the object of this faith. The most characteristic feature of all, the change of life, was entirely wanting. Its enthusiasm, its idealism, and its moral quality remained the same. Only the object toward which it was directed was altered. Hence, when we use the term conversion in speaking of Paul, it is with the distinct realization that it is not to be understood in the usual sense.

We next turn to the experience itself. That there was an experience of some sort in Paul's life we cannot doubt. The very existence of three accounts in Acts would suggest something of the sort. A much stronger argument, however, is presented in the words of Paul himself. "I was . . . a persecutor of the church . . . but for Christ's sake I have learned to count my former gains a loss . . . compared with the supreme value of knowing Christ Jesus, my Lord" [57] and similar statements are inconceivable as coming from a man who had not undergone some sort of radical transformation.

It is equally impossible to imagine that this could have been so sudden as not to have had its roots in his past life. That there has been much speculation as to this gradual preparation is evidenced by the mental projection and burden-of-the-law theories already studied. In them there may well be elements of truth. Perhaps Paul was influenced by the heroic suffering of Christian martyrs; perhaps the winsomeness of the Jesus to whom they bore witness was captivating despite the stumbling block caused by the cross.[58] But, so far as we can see, there was no conscious leaning toward the Christian side. This, plus a conviction that there must have been deep-seated causes at work, is all we can safely assert.

As for the experience itself, we naturally turn to Paul as our primary source, and as the criterion for a subsequent evaluation of Acts. Paul's writings glow with the joy of new life. The note struck in 2 Cor. 2: 14 is typical. "Where-

[57] Phil. 3: 6-8.

[58] Paul's later emphasis on the death and resurrection of Jesus may well be evidence of his former repulsion by such an idea.

ever I go, thank God, he makes my life a constant pageant of triumph in Christ, diffusing the perfume of his knowledge everywhere by me." He bears testimony to a great change, but the point for him is that God has seen fit, in his good providence, to choose him, the erstwhile persecutor, to be his chosen messenger to the Gentiles. That God did it, Paul is convinced. That he did it through Christ is equally evident to him, but, after all, the commission is the fundamental note. Whether the experience was gradual or sudden, confined to a definite time and place, or unlimited by temporal and spatial bounds, he does not say. His interest is wholly in the goodness of God, the presence of Christ, and the work of Paul.

Another interesting fact is that Paul speaks as if he never for a moment doubted that his call to the Gentiles was part of this experience. Here we must remember that Paul was writing after years of work with the Gentiles. In retrospection he might well have linked a later practise with an earlier event. Probably most adults interpret some experiences of their childhood and youth by reading adult opinions or reactions into them. The emphasis of Acts in picturing Paul as driven by circumstances and by the attitude of the Jewish Christians to turn to the Gentiles, although exaggerated in line with the author's purpose,[59] probably contains an element of truth. Such an apostate as Paul could hardly have been expected to be highly acceptable to the Jews. On the other hand, Paul may have chosen the Gentile work very early and in part voluntarily. Living, as he did, in the Gentile world, he would naturally have felt very close to other citizens of it. Furthermore, the fact that he, a persecutor, should be so called would be all the evidence needed to convince him that the gospel was for all.

With this general statement, then—that Saul, the persecutor, became somehow convinced that Jesus was the son of God, a divine being in whom God had been pleased to make

[59] To trace the growth of Christianity from a Jewish sect to a world religion, and to gain for it a clean bill of health with Rome.

himself known to men, that he was alive and at the right hand of the Father, and that he had called him (Paul) to be an apostle—we turn from Paul's letters to the story of Acts.

These stories, or versions of a single story, as we have observed, are to be treated on the basis of their self-consistency, their agreement or lack of agreement with Paul's own words, their accuracy as character studies of Paul, and their place in the author's literary scheme.

The self-consistency of these accounts has already been studied, and we have concluded that they are really but three versions of a single story, with no variations in line with any single tendency, and that their differences, with the single exception of the statement, " It is hard for you to kick against the goad," [60] are quite incidental. We are, therefore, justified in considering them self-consistent.

Our next question is: Are the stories consistent with Paul's words and with his character? Some features of it, such as Saul's life as a persecutor and Paul's conviction that, as a result of his experience, he was appointed " as a witness," are in perfect accord. Others are more doubtful. These are:

1. The time and place of the experience. In this question the matter of suddenness is also by implication involved, since an experience which is gradual is not limited to a single time, and often not to one place. Paul tells us nothing of the time, but he does imply that the experience occurred in or near Damascus, for he states that after his conversion he " went into Arabia and returned (ὑπέστρεψα) again into Damascus." [61] We can be quite sure, however, that it was not as he was going from Jerusalem with a commission from the high priest authorizing him to persecute the Damascus Christians, because: (1) It is highly improbable that the priest could have granted such permission; and (2), Paul's statement [62] implies that he had never been in Jerusalem until three years after his return from Arabia. As for the time of the occurrence, we

[60] Acts 26: 14. [61] Gal. 1: 17. [62] Gal. 1: 18.

can assert nothing. It seems, then, that the experience, if gradual, at least culminated and thrust itself into Paul's consciousness in the vicinity of Damascus. Just when it was, or why Paul was there, we do not know.

2. The details of Paul's experience. This includes the light, the falling to the ground, the voice and words, the blindness, and the subsequent part played by Ananias. The oft-quoted "Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?" [63] and "He was seen by myself" [64] can be interpreted in almost any way. Those who emphasize his argument for his apostleship on the same basis as that of the other apostles because of his having seen the risen Christ feel that the sight must have been external; those who stress such passages as "God . . . has shone within my heart" [65] and "It pleased God . . . to reveal his son in me" [66] are equally insistent upon its internality. Paul himself seems to have felt that his experience was of exactly the same nature as that granted to the other apostles.[67] Whether or not he was correct in this supposition, and just what the experiences of the other apostles were, are questions beyond the scope of this study. The common experience of mankind, however, would suggest that Paul's conversion was probably a subjective experience of some sort, whether a vision or a more normal revelation, we cannot say. We only know that visions were not unknown to Paul,[68] and that, if he reported it in such terms, it is not surprising.

It seems, then, that the stories are in more agreement of spirit, rather than letter, with Paul's words and his character than we might at the outset imagine. We have yet to see how much of them may have been supplied by Luke.

The writer of Luke and Acts, as we have observed, was fond of using visions as a literary device. This was particularly effective in accomplishing unbelievable changes of opinion or character. So he seems to have used the Damascus road

[63] 1 Cor. 9: 1.
[64] 1 Cor. 15: 8.
[65] 2 Cor. 4: 6.
[66] Gal. 1: 15, 16.
[67] 1 Cor. 15: 7-11.
[68] See 2 Cor. 12: 1-4 and 1 Cor. 14: 18.

experience. Let us imagine him building his story. Suppose he had a few facts about Paul at hand: that Saul had been a great persecutor; that he had somehow been changed by an experience associated with Damascus, and described as an appearance of the Lord; that he had frequently had visions; that this particular experience was credited with having been responsible for his entrance into the Christian cause; that he had subsequently become a great Gentile missionary. Luke would normally link all these facts together in such manner as his imagination might suggest. Unconsciously, or perhaps consciously, he might refer to the Old Testament model in supplying such details as the hearing of the voice, the words, "Saul, Saul," the injunction, "Get up and stand on your feet," [69] and the subsequent conversation. Although this is, and must remain, speculative, it seems a plausible explanation of how the stories may have arisen.

Although our study goes little farther than work already done, yet it emphasizes in an interesting way the significance of Paul's experience, the normal manner in which the Acts accounts arose, and, above all, their essential truth. It does not remove the element of mystery from the experience itself, yet it suggests how very near we may come to knowing all, and warns that if we were to press nearer we might tread on the holy ground of personality, to our own hurt. Such a study leaves us with the increasing suspicion that we who live now know Paul better and appreciate him more than we would if it were possible for us to come into personal contact with him, and to pry into all the recesses of his life and thought.

[69] Cf. Acts 26: 16 with Ezekiel 2: 1.

BRIDGES' PHILOSOPHY OF BEAUTY

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WHAT an achievement! The gray-bearded Poet Laureate, never a popular figure, usually bracketed with the conservatives who do not really count in the progress of true poesy, the old poet to give us this book, *The Testament of Beauty*, and then to pass over to gain heavenly laurels! I am inclined to agree with J. C. Squire: "The most veracious and thrilling, as well as the most learned, poem about man, time, and eternity since Wordsworth's 'Prelude.'" Let me entirely waive the question here of its strictly poetical merit, and the question of its author's theories of prosody and of spelling. Suffice it to say that classes in prosody will have hours of fun over the technique of Bridges' work. I suppose, however, we have no right entirely to dodge a verdict on its literary merit. I will confess for myself that I was at times tempted to grunt, "But this is not poetry." If I quote a few lines a little later, I think my meaning will be clear. I was frightened that poetry should be asked to carry such a massive load of philosophy with its highly latinized expression. A lover, myself, of the simple lines of Yeats and De La Mare, poets of fairyland and lovers' haven and the dim peace at the end of things, I was reluctant to call this effort of Bridges by the name of poetry. Then a few lines would thrill me as Keats and Wordsworth can, and I would read on. I had to read on, and I had to read back and over again and again. I feel I have had my reward. And I would like to commend to brother ministers this mellow and profound philosophy of life which was the swan-song of a learned and a clear-souled poet.

What is Bridges' philosophy of life and truth? Can we label him with the name of any of the schools of ethics or of knowledge? It is quite a temptation to list a few of the influ-

ences that play upon these pages. Plato is here most indubitably; as in the very figure which determines the poem's structure, the figure of the chariot drawn by the two horses; and in the theory of ideas, called influences by the poet. Aristotle is here counseling a wise moderation. Dante is here, in the "high seriousness" which invests the whole effort, and in the uncanny wedding of profound thought and measured verse. Wordsworth makes rich contribution in the affectionate recording of Nature's moods. The Fourth Gospel is in the background, and the Neo-Platonic tradition of the mystic vision of God's unity and wholeness. But to probe any deeper in this direction would be to raise the ghosts of monisms and pantheisms and idealisms, and we should be lost in the fog. Perhaps the poet ought to be spared this form of dissection, for he always says just less than enough than is necessary for the unlovely analyst to stick him with a pin and label him in his dusty cabinet. One thing is sure, and that is that this poem is of 1930. How much, for example, Bridges owes to the modern men of science, with his rich store of simile and parable from the microscopic world and the life of field and wood, as well as his certain conviction of the physical foundation and conditioning of all life! Furthermore, the poem represents a structure patiently and considerately built to cheer and shelter the world that was broken on the wheel in 1914-18; or, perhaps more surely, 1918-30. What is there to live for, what guiding star for our so uncertain future, in these days of bitter awakening from bad dreams? Well, there is beauty to which we can cling; thus have counseled many of the wise. But what is this beauty? Is it a momentary phantom, or is it grounded in eternal truth? What will it cost us? Is it simply a potion to drug us delightfully till our house crashes in upon us and all our hopes? Or is it of God, and of the substance of that reality without which we perish? Read Bridges.

What is *The Testament of Beauty?* Let me quote that I may both convey some hints of the poem's savor and give a suggestion of its wealth of thought.

> Man's happiness, his flaunting, honey'd flower of soul,
> is his loving response to the wealth of Nature.
> Beauty is the prime motiv of all his excellence,
> his aim and peaceful purpose.
>
> (I: 120-122.)

> This spiritual elation and response to Nature
> is Man's generic mark.
>
> (I: 318-319.)

The supreme beauty is spiritual beauty, and man's purpose is not mere contemplation, not enjoyment of the passing flower, but definite achievement, which demands an almost ascetic discipline.

> the high goal of our great endeavour
> is spiritual attainment, individual worth,
> at all cost to be sought and at all cost pursued,
> to be won at all cost and at all cost assured.
>
> (II: 204-8.)

But can he earn this treasure by the mere labor of his soul? Hardly. Now comes in Plato's philosophy of ideas, which Bridges carries over as influences.

> *What is Beauty? saith my sufferings then.*—I answer
> the lover and the poet in my loose alexandrines:
> Beauty is the highest of all these occult influences,
> the quality of appearances that thru' the sense
> Wakeneth spiritual emotion in the mind of man.
>
> (II: 840-845.)

I quote now at greater length these beautiful lines (lines quoted by George A. Buttrick in his Lyman Beecher Lectures at Yale):

> I see the emotion of saints, lovers, and poets all
> to be the kindling of some personality
> by an eternizing passion; and that God's worshipper
> looking on any beauty falleth straightway in love;
> and thatt love is a fire in whose devouring flames
> all earthly ills are consumed, and at least flash of it,
> be it only a faint radiancy, the freed soul glimpseth,
> nay ev'n may think to hav felt, some initiat foretaste
> of thatt mystic rapture, the consummation of which
> is the absorption of selfhood in the Being of God.
>
> (II: 918-927.)

Thus does the worshipper of Beauty achieve a kind of immortality in mystic union. One is reminded of Dante's vision of heaven in the sublime picture of the white rose (and the Christian believer in the eternal worth of personality will prefer Dante's picture). The following lines suggest what Professor J. Y. Simpson would call the doctrine of immortability, or what is sometimes called conditional immortality:

> This mind perisheth with this body, unless
> the personal co-ordination of its ideas
> hav won to Being higher than animal life.
> at thatt point where the Ring cometh upward to reach
> the original creativ Energy which is God,
> with conscience entering into life everlasting.
>
> (IV: 1262-1267.)

This is perhaps enough of quotation. I have not as much as sketched the plan or outline of the poem: Selfhood and Breed the two horses of the chariot, and Reason the charioteer.

Bridges clearly belongs to the classical tradition that ever counsels restraint, discipline, harmony. From his successor in the laureateship, John Masefield, we learn the more vivid philosophy of the emotional thrill and the inevitably sad resignation. These are, I believe, his lines:

> Best trust the happy moments. What they gave
> Makes life less fearful of the certain grave.

The pathos of the romantic flavors all of Masefield: "The certain grave" haunts him; he is sick with "the tragic sense of life." In Bridges I see a wholly different way of life: he would counsel discipline as the path to the harmony of our else discordant parts, and link this harmony with God and the things that do not pass away.

Nevertheless, if I am right in calling "the tragic sense of life" the essentially romantic mood, Bridges has no mean degree of the romantic. I discern this in his poem in the *Oxford Book of English Verse,* "Pater Filio," which is to my mind one of the most perfect poems in our language, a poem which half recalls Walter Pater's words in "Marius the Epicurean" about the soul being the white bird to be carried across the moiling market-place to safety. Bridges almost echoes the ancient thought of the old Earl of Northumbria, as recorded by Bede: human life as the sparrow's flight through the gaily lighted hall, from darkness back to cold darkness. Bridges' answer to the query ever sounding through the apparent purposelessness through which we try to carry our souls is that there is Beauty, a Beauty, moreover, that can make our lives immortal. The way is the way of the harmonizing of all our faculties and gifts; the way of the discipline of the narrow path that fades at last into the All-Beauty that is God. The opening lines are all that are needed for a text:

> We sail a changeful sea through halcyon days and storm,
> and when the ship laboureth, our stedfast purpose
> trembles like as a compass in a binnacle.
> Our stability is but balance, and wisdom lies
> in masterful administration of the unforseen.
>
> (I: 3-8.)

THOUGHT-PATTERNS OF EARLY HINDUISM

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THE purpose of this essay on early Hinduism is to picture the beginnings of the religion on the background of Hindu social life, and to elucidate the thought-patterns of its first philosophers. Attempts made by Indian scholars to interpret their own religion are sometimes vitiated by their lack of scientific objectivity. Sanskrit students of the Western world have laid bare the subtle meanings of obscure texts and thrown light upon the emotional attitudes of religious groups; but it can scarcely be said that their efforts have uncovered the springs of Hinduism, which lie embedded in the milieu of the every-day life of the folk. Hinduism has been broadly defined as the undifferentiated complex of the Hindu's social living. This suggests that whatever has to do with human life must be pressed into service to produce an adequate picture of the religion.

Sound historical data concerning the Aryan invasions of India are not available. It is certain, however, that the Aryans were a happy, optimistic people. They brought with them to India a simple tribal organization, deeply-rooted family loyalties, and a consciousness of their own superiority and of their racial and religious unity. This world they considered the home of all their values. They had no compensating hells and heavens, and their ethical ideals were largely independent of their relationship to the gods. Their deities were the beneficent phases of cosmic activity. Released by death, the Aryans dwelt with the fathers in celestial light-realms surrounded by rivers of water, milk and honey, and enjoyed convivial bliss with their gods forever. The Upanishads, however, present a different picture. The old Aryan buoyancy and zest for life have departed. Pessimism is dominant, and the Hindu is sending up his wail of hopelessness.

The Aryan advance toward the fertile valleys of the Ganges suffered many disabilities. Internal strife between chieftains and the priests to whom they delegated their authority, conflicts between Aryan tribes, the increased complexity of life in settled areas with their untoward risks and dangers, the steady absorption of Dravidian customs and ideals, the satiety induced by luxurious living in the regions subdued, the increasing rigidity of caste, and the stubborn Dravidian resistance which hindered the spoilation of the coveted Gangetic areas—these were factors in a total situation producing that lassitude, world-weariness and suspicion of phenomenal existence so plainly mirrored in the Upanishads.

Whatever were the contributory causes of the phenomenon, it is certain that in Upanishadic times a great wave of mystico-asceticism swept over northwestern India. Multitudes broke from the routine of the organized social order, left their occupations and their families, wandered, and sought ultimate reality in their own contemplations. The introspective attitude arises on the cessation of strenuous outward activity. Obstruction and frustration in the external world of work and social living throw the individual back upon his inmost self to discover therein the reality which the outward world-order denies him. One need not look beyond the enslaving of the Dravidian, the gradual hardening of the system of Hindu caste, and the almost static condition of that early society to find sufficient ground for pessimism and the pressing forward of asceticism to recognition as an orthodox pathway to salvation.

World-weary multitudes, through their asceticism, escaped from the ennui of caste-work, the duress of poverty, the satiety of wealth, caste repression, the financial burden of the sacrifice, and the binding authority of the professional priesthood. This new way of life furnished the release which the maladjusted sought, and gave them a sense of supernatural power superior even to that engendered by the sacrifice. Especially was this the case with those who through auto-hypnosis were able to forget

the miseries of life in the ecstasy of the mystic trance (*yoga*). In this experience they believed they not only touched ultimate reality, but realized also their absolute identity with the deity. This experience of extreme mystico-asceticism has its attempted rationalization in the Upanishadic Brahman-atman speculations. Who am I? Whence came I? Whither am I bound? What is the subject to which is denied objectivity? These are some of the questionings which occupied the attention of the early Hindu philosophers. The latter had a clearer knowledge of the negative than of the positive aspects of their subject—the individual self. Some held (as did the Charvakas) that the self is the gross body with its organs of activity and the senses. Some said it is the mind (*manas*), others claimed it is the understanding (*buddhi*), and still others thought it is the life principle (*praṇa*). In the dialogue between Indra and Prajapati, in the Chandogya Upanishad, many views were expressed, as if representing various schools of thought. But finally the conclusion was reached that the real self is not the individual subject in waking consciousness, nor in dream sleep, nor in sleep undisturbed by dreams, but the self-existent absolute subject, the synthesis of the knower and the known. And this self is realized when the individual separates himself from materiality, mental activity, feeling, and from all experiences implying subject and object relationships, and becomes immediately aware of this ultimate principle of consciousness. This view of the self won the victory over all rivals. It was the self experienced in the ecstasy of yoga, wherein the ecstatic declared he enjoyed the bliss of oneness with the deity.

In similar manner controversy raged over the picturing of Brahman, the universe's ultimate. Some philosophers maintained that Brahman is the material universe, while others held it to be the world's life principle, the universal mind, and the world's intelligence or understanding. These diverse views are expressed in the Taittiriya Upanishad in a dialogue between

a father and his son. The theologizing follows the formula "As life, mind, or understanding is to the individual's body, so is God to the world." But the son in his final reply to his father sweeps away these analogies and concludes that Brahman *is* infinite ecstatic bliss (*ananda*) in which the dualism of subject and object is transcended. The utilizing of psychological patterns for the purpose of rationalizing deity and the universe is clearly evident. These patterns were ready at hand because world-flight and defeatism had yielded for ascetics the psychological interest. Christian theologians have followed at times a psychological pattern and said, "As soul is to body, so is God to the world." Again they have utilized a political pattern and said, "As the king is to his subjects, so is God to the world." Such statements are illuminating and harmless so long as they are recognized to be mere analogies. But there is a slip in logic when the inference is drawn "Therefore God *is* a soul," and "Therefore God *is* a king." [1] The Upanishadic theologian was more metaphysician than logician when he proclaimed that the ultimate of the universe is identical with the supposedly super-conscious self of the individual, whose real existence is vouched for by no more scientific authority than a feeling of yoga-ecstasy.

Asceticism superseded the sacrifice as an orthodox way of salvation. It was known in philosophical circles as "jnana-marga," or the way of knowledge. This "knowledge" is the intuitional awareness of the individual's oneness with Brahman, and is achievable through the experience of the mystic trance. It is abundantly clear that this religious path to salvation is for him who practises the life of rigid asceticism.

But the overwhelming majority of the people were not ascetics. The masses, in spite of those environmental influences which produced asceticism, did not choose to break from their occupations, forsake their home life and repudiate the social order. For them the social processes still held certain

[1] Shailer Mathews, in *The Growth of the Idea of God*, elucidates this patterning process.

values. These values they would achieve, not by world flight, but by accepting the *status quo* and faithfully performing their tasks in their near-static social order, which was determined by the increasing rigidity of caste. The religious values of these non-ascetics were emphasized in another way of salvation, designated "karma-marga," or the way of work. This salvation technique won its way gradually to official recognition, after a long and tedious struggle. Its acceptance by the priests of Hinduism marked the accommodation of Brahmanical orthodoxy to the masses who struggled for a livelihood, bound by their masters to the wheel of work.

The etymological meaning of "karma" is work. Its root, "kar," means "to make." "Karya" (cause), "kriya" (deed), "karana" (result)—these are derived from the same root. In Sanskrit grammar "karta" (doer) is subject and "karma" (the work done, or the thing made) is object of the sentence. Thus the individual's work is his karma, and, as Gautama also intimated, the individual is a bundle of karmas or habit-reactions. In other words, a man *is* what he *does*. There seems little doubt that the social pattern for the karma doctrine was the pattern of work. But let us be more explicit. Original distinctions between the Aryans and the Dravidians were based upon race. Color (*varna*) was the determinant of caste-status. When the two races fused, and society was organized in the interests of the ruler, work for the furtherance of his wealth and prestige became the dominant social interest, and at the same time the point of greatest social tension. Caste stratification shifted from the color basis to that of occupational activity. There is sufficient evidence that this latter custom prevailed and had produced abundant friction in social living before the time of Gautama. The occupation or work of an individual determined his place in the social order. Caste became hereditary and hierarchical—the various classes being graded according to the value of their respective occupations to the ruler and society. Caste and work came to be synony-

mous terms. The rigidity of this system of caste, based upon occupational differentiation, compelled the Hindu to perform a definite type of work, the work of his caste group. On every day that dawned for the householder his task was determined by the work he did the day previous. A carpenter yesterday, he must work at carpentry today, and every day throughout his life. This is the simple meaning of "karmic necessity" —the necessity of predetermined work. We are fully aware that when the word "karma" is lifted into the realm of ethics and religion, and is utilized by the theologian to make a religious doctrine, its meaning is extended; but even in these realms of value its original significance is not lost. The formula remains, "present status is the result of past activity or work." The labor of the householder in that ancient society was dull and tedious. The ascetic was glad to leave its monotonous grind and wander as a mendicant. The toiler found in sleep but a temporary release from the ennui of his enslavement; but waking consciousness and every sunrise found him bound to the task of his servitude. Surely, if he so desired, he could refuse to work and become a yogin; but, if committed to the task of a householder, he could not escape the karmic wheel of work. Never in this life was it possible to rise in the scale of caste. Every development of individuality and self-value must take place within the area of his own caste limitations. Our thesis is that there was nothing needed save work under the ever-increasing stringency of the caste system to make one's occupation not only central among his life interests, but also the point of greatest tension for all householders. As the religious experience of the ascetic was pictured by theologians in terms of quiescence and blissful rest from all activity in Brahman absorption, what could be more natural than to pattern the salvation experienced by the householder after the similitude of activity and work? Karma-marga, then, became the religious rationalization of the total universe in terms of the social pattern of work.

It was the householder's religion par excellence. Karma-marga won its way to orthodoxy with its message: "Salvation is not only for those who forsake the world, but for all who perform the duties demanded by their station in life impersonally, and disinterested in both rewards and punishments for their actions." As the worker may rise above his work and master it by performing his task as an obligation to society, so the individual may achieve salvation by doing his religious karmas with this same self-surrender to duty. In other words, the karma (work) which binds the life may, when properly motivated, lead the Hindu to the goal of his religious quest —ananda.

From the foregoing it may be perceived that any attempt to harmonize jnana-marga and karma-marga must end in disappointment and futility. They can no more be blended into unity than can the life of the non-working ascetic and that of the householder who works to keep up the on-going processes of society. Little wonder that Upanishadic theologians, with their ascetic bias, looked askance at karma and regarded it as a path to be avoided. That they should view it as a non-value and treat it pessimistically is in perfect accord with the ascetic's opinion of life on the wheel of work. But it must be remembered that karma-marga *is* a salvation pathway, and as such it mirrors the aspirations of all those whose life as hard-working householders precludes the possibility of their enjoying the questionable values of profound introspection and the mystic trance ecstasy of yoga.

But what is transmigration? This doctrine, often called the heart of Hinduism, is the transcendentalization of karma, which it utilizes to picture individual immortality. That the two doctrines belong together none may doubt. Scholarship gains nothing either by guessing that transmigration "may have been absorbed from aboriginal beliefs," or by theorizing that it was born in the realm of abstract thought, in the minds of the intelligentsia. Too many Western scholars have suc-

cumbed to the subtle influence of Hindu apologists and their presuppositions regarding both the super-spirituality and super-mentality of Hindus. It must be remembered that the early Indian theologians were neither greatly sophisticated nor yet scientific in their methods. Then, too, if we grant as a hypothesis that transmigration seeped into orthodox Hinduism from outside, we still meet the problem of explaining the reason for the Hindu's acceptance of the doctrine. Religious students of the past sought to explain movements by ideas, but the tendency today is to study the movements of life which are the source of those ideas which it is the scholar's endeavor to elucidate. Transmigration is perfectly at home, with karma, in the stream of ancient Hindu social life. Let us examine it more closely.

Aryans all traveled the same road at death to the home of the fathers. When the Aryan and Dravidian cultures fused and caste distinctions were sharply defined on the basis of occupational differences, corresponding change ensued in the Hindu conception of the future life. The Upanishads tell of two distinct pathways to the next world—*devayana* (path of light) and *pitriyana* (path of darkness). According to the Brahmaṇas, the dead were dispatched by the priests along these pathways, according to their merit or demerit. With the development of the karma doctrine and the pressing of the masses into the Brahmanical religion, devayana was regarded chiefly as the way of the mystico-ascetic, while pitriyana was for those who, eschewing asceticism, adapted themselves to the social *status quo*. The latter, released from their work by death, traveled to a place where they received rewards proportionate to the excess of merit over the demerit of the deeds they had performed. Those whose demerit outweighed their merit were punished accordingly. In either case, whether rewarded or punished, they remained just long enough for the balance beam to assume the horizontal. And at that point they returned to earth to be bound again to the wheel of activity

and work. As previously stated, no Hindu may rise to a higher caste in his present existence. The transmigration theory says that on his return to earth he takes a new caste status, which is determined on the basis of the net value or non-value of his past karmas. In other words the individual who has been punished in the other world begins earthly existence again in a lower caste, and thus for a life preponderatingly evil he suffers a double retribution. This, however, is only part of the picture; for a good life, on the other hand, receives likewise a double blessedness—reward in the hereafter and then rebirth in a higher caste. Herein is evidence of the optimism of karma-marga, pointing as it does to the development of individual personality and self-value, and fulfilling the aspirations of India's toiling masses who await the day when they shall finally receive the social status of the Brahman and the ruler.

Transmigration is karma on a transcendental scale. It arose as the mental picturing of the householder's unseen future after the pattern of his daily work. The theologian endeavors to explain this unknown future after the analogy of the known present. The doctrine of transmigration presents the future on a pictorial universal and eternal scale, following the pattern of what the householder's life was (under caste determination) in its actual local and temporary setting. The worker toils all day, leaves the wheel of action to sleep and recuperate his powers, but wakes to find himself tied to his slowly revolving wheel of toil. The salvation he craves is the prestige of the highest caste, and this is what the karma-transmigration way has to offer. The individual toils throughout his day of life, when death steps in, releasing him temporarily from the wheel of his this-worldly activities. The picture thus far follows the pattern of a night's sleep after a day of toil. But death does not annihilate nor bind the individual forever, any more than sleep frees him from the necessity of more work. As expressed in a verse appended to Brihadaranyaka Upanishad (4:2 . 2-6), "having attained the end of

his deeds committed on earth, he returns from yonder world to the world of work," as surely as waking consciousness returns the householder to his wheel of occupational activity. This earthly existence of numerous day-cycles of toil and sleep becomes, for the transmigration picture, an almost never-ending age of life and death cycles—figuratively expressed as eight million four hundred thousand existences. Perhaps karma-marga's popularity is due to this unhurried program of cosmic activity. Only eternity is long enough for the toiling masses to rise above the slave-mentality fastened upon them by the sternness of caste, and to achieve in this world those values of human living which produce the life abundant.

This article does not contend that those who made the theology of Hinduism were conscious of the methodology they pursued in picturing the ultimate and its relation to the cosmos. Nevertheless the scientific student of religion need not be over-sophisticated to perceive that in their theologizing they utilized current psychological and social patterns to rationalize the religious experience of their people. In this respect they are not unlike more modern theologians who fabricate theories of the future, the unfamiliar, and the unknown after the pattern of the dominant social interest in the known and familiar present. Are jnana-marga and karma-marga *true* ways of salvation? This and similar questions are of more interest to apologetical comparative religion than to the scientific study of religious phenomena. Whether they are true or not true in an absolutistic sense, jnana and karma are justifiable rationalizations (for religious purposes) of human experience and of the total universe on two diverse patterns of social living—the life of the extreme ascetic and the life of the working householder. These two ways admit of no possible reconciliation. Hinayana Buddhism attempted their synthesis and failed. But that is another story.

WIEMAN ON CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP

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In an article in a recent number of The Crozer Quarterly,[1] Prof. Henry Nelson Wieman, of the University of Chicago, made some comments upon the writer's book, *The History of Fundamentalism,* that furnish materials for provocative thought. His major interest lies in the last chapter of the book and, more particularly, in the two types of Christian leaders which the controversy revealed in the churches. In addition to the fundamentalist and liberal types, he hopes for the ascendancy of a third, "the radical," that would escape the shortcomings of both and approximate more closely the religious ideal.

With much that Doctor Wieman has said the writer finds himself in full accord. That the controversy carried with it tragic consequences for the present and the next generations of churchmen, that both parties to the cause revealed an alarming degree of spiritual ineffectiveness, and that few Christian leaders have yet set themselves seriously to understand the issues involved we would agree. It is quite apparent also that there are particulars in the situation upon which we would disagree, and it is in reference to them that the writer turns his attention.

Concerning the three sovereign drives that the writer names as characteristic of the fundamentalist personality, viz., "the desire for an unshakeable religious security, the desire for a like-minded Christian fellowship, and the desire for the administrative direction of the Churches of Christ," Doctor Wieman passes strict judgment. He claims that they were dominant urges in liberal and conservative alike. It is true

[1] *Fundamentalism vs. Liberalism,* April, 1931, pp. 191-199.

that progressive Christians desired security in religion (as all men do desire it), but theirs was invested differently and conceived less dogmatically than that of the traditionally-minded men. The former placed their confidence in experiential resources of the living spirit, whereas the latter clung earnestly to external, tangible and logical forms of authority. As for the second basic desire, fellowship of *like-minded* believers was imperative for the conservative, while on the other hand liberals begged repeatedly for a comprehensive church including both major parties. Concerning the third instinctive urge, liberals were actually supervising the work of the churches; it was the other leadership which had reason to desire the supervision, but not " for prestige and power," as Doctor Wieman suggests the writer claims, but for the purpose of preserving the Christian cause in its pristine purity.[2] The liberals felt their sense of personal worth because they were in possession of the reins of denominational control; conservatives demanded prestige (as all men do demand it) and, since it was denied them in the regular channels of church work, they sought and found it through independent fellowship groups.

Referring again to the first drive, the fundamentalist's commanding desire for security, Professor Wieman says that the writer followed the lead of John Dewey here (though some psychologists as well as Dewey, the philosopher, find the principle helpful), and comments, " we think it is relatively unimportant as compared to the major religious impulse which leads to such insistence on certainty and fixation as we find among the Fundamentalists." It *is* " relatively unimportant " for the reviewer and the writer, but not for the distraught controversialist. One has to be familiar with Wieman's philosophy of religion in order to understand what he means by " the major religious impulse." He only infers its meaning in The Quarterly article; the nearest direct reference lies in his words, " the surging uncontrollable drive for cosmic ends."

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 335.

The writer finds himself in heartiest agreement with this view-point. There is something religious that is infinitely deeper in human nature than the desire for cosmic security, and it is shared by all men by virtue of the fact that they are human. It was manifest by both parties during the controversy, although Wieman appears to overlook it in liberals, as though they could uproot what is fundamental in their native constitution. What the writer was seeking to stress in his interpretation of the fundamentalist personality was that this " major religious impulse " tends in the conservative type of religionist, when conflict rages, to become narrow (rigid and fixed) in its application. Its freedom of action is greatly restrained because of the excessive fear and veneration that the situation calls forth in them. For purposes of self- and faith-preservation it fixates upon alleged finalities and absolutes. Hence " the major religious impulse," instrumental in conservatives, expressed itself as " the desire for an unshakeable religious security." And all of the " savage " (to borrow Wieman's term) passion of their pious natures was spent in establishing this type of anchoring faith. Whereas in the liberal, who was less disturbed personally and more emancipated in view-point, the same basic urge continued to function in a more normal manner.

The writer fails to appreciate the force of Doctor Wieman's analysis of the primary contributing cause to fundamentalism. Passing by crowd psychology and the logic of doctrinal orthodoxy as inadequate explanations, he settles upon " the weakness of religious Liberalism " as the sufficient reason. However, could any condition within one group of people account for the unfortunate behavior of another group of persons! Only an understanding of the " weakness " *within* fundamentalists approximates a critical answer to the question. And what is " weakness " in both parties but a naive recognition of group conflict, which does not explain anything? Certainly the liberal's faith was weak enough in the moments of

denominational crisis. The writer calls attention to what he conceives as the most important phase of this shortcoming on page 329 in his book. But, in passing, he ventures to claim that in such crises it is probable that the progressive's religion was as "strong" as, if not stronger than, that of those who rebelled to the extent of threatening the disintegration of organized Christianity.

Regarding the liberals, the writer had remarked in his book that they were making "an adventurous quest for a higher synthesis of old and new Protestant values." Professor Wieman quotes this statement and replies that liberals "were offering some kind of a patched-up 'higher synthesis.' Mr. Cole would not say 'patched-up,' but he does make plain that this is what distinguished the liberal. The liberal spent himself (quoting from the book again) 'redefining Christianity to meet a shifting culture.' . . That is the essence of Liberalism. But it certainly is not the essence of the most passionate and powerful religion." Is this not a partial caricature of liberalism; and for that matter, is not the reviewer's roseate portrait of fundamentalism overdrawn? The liberal leader's personal world-view was no more "patched-up" than is any Christian adventurer's in an age of accelerated social and philosophical change. His ecclesiastical technique was "patched-up" time and time again. It could not be quite otherwise if a remnant of harmony and cooperation was to be conserved in the several denominations. Doctor Wieman illustrates this fact from the writer's pages, but does he not fail to recognize that those pages interpret a conflict of cultures and inter-group adjustments rather than the independent religious world-view of liberal Christians? It did not lie within the compass of the writer's theme to treat "the essence of the most passionate and powerful religion" that liberals treasured. In the latter part of the reviewer's article he deliberately departs from the psychological setting of the controversy and engages in idealistic claims for religion. In that select atmosphere the

writer always finds ready and inspiring company with Doctor Wieman, but he was not free to declare a fundamentalist-modernist holiday during his preparation of the historical manuscript.

To refer again to the lengthy excerpt quoted in the last paragraph: the reviewer indicates his view of the contrast between the two types of leadership in the churches. The conservatives entertained "a passionate and powerful religion;" the progressives spent themselves in trumping up redefinitions of changing faith. Liberalism, because of its "glorification of the prevalent culture, . . is doomed." In brief, Doctor Wieman defined the conflict as an outgrown cosmology devoutly embraced versus an ingrown culture tentatively held. And, as between the two, he chooses to fellowship with the fundamentalist and to spurn the anthropolatry of the liberal. If that were a fair description of the types of churchmen, doubtless many others would be compelled to follow his lead.

Wherein is the difference between the types of leadership? By virtue of the fact that both parties shared a common human nature, they were possessed of "the major religious impulse," of which Doctor Wieman writes. Because they chose to clothe this impulse with divergent administrative, doctrinal and fellowship loyalties, they developed contrasting patterns of personality. Those patterns were reflected in the linguistic and associated gestural declarations which they gave forth during the controversy. And the structural organization of such loyalties in terms of forms and values represents the group's culture. The difference was not that one party sponsored "religion" while the other defended a "culture," as Doctor Wieman has claimed. Rather, as the writer has attempted to make clear in his book,[8] the controversy was a conflict of divergent religious cultures. A culture, psychologically considered, is the composite of social vehicles by which a group expresses its genius, and the sacred values it cherishes. Both

[8] *Op. cit.*, pp. 28ff., 337f.

the fundamentalists and the liberals embraced Christian cultures, and these cultures bodied forth their "major religious impulse."

At this juncture it may be well to refer to "radicalism," the order of religion which Professor Wieman desires. Concerning it, he writes, "it does not set up any cosmology or any system of thought. It freely and frankly confesses its ignorance of the specific nature of that structure of existence and possibility which sustains, promotes and constitutes the highest values." The writer would disagree emphatically with this view-point. Does not the radical put a premium upon using skilfully the highest faculty that he possesses—namely, his mind? He thinks! Doctor Wieman is at his best when he is thinking. They think about the universe. And both conceive a cosmology as specifically as they possibly can. Besides, they live by that world-view, however hazy it may be; that is, they derive faith, hope and love from the confidence they enlist in the universe they sense. So does the liberal! Wherein is the difference between the liberal Christian whom the churches include and the radical whom Doctor Wieman defines? Little or none in cosmological attitude, i. e., "the major religious impulse"; considerable perhaps in the cultural representations that that impulse takes in social expression. The liberal, out of loyalty to his Christian heritage, has found it necessary to "redefine Christianity to meet a shifting culture." If that reconstructive work maims his faith, it is a great misfortune. It need not do so; the work is imperative. Every ecclesiastical age that maintains vitality and adventuresomeness accepts this responsibility. The redefinitions in ecclesia, ritual, organization and beliefs are the vehicles by which the basic religious drive equips itself for social action. The radical, on the other hand, like Doctor Wieman himself in his remarkable book, *The Wrestle of Religion with Truth*, does not feel the same compunction to revitalize and restate historic Christian values, but neglects them in order to conceive religion emancipated and

in terms of the more secular and critically-determined thought-forms of this age of science.

What would become of Christianity if this latter procedure were adopted universally? Organically, it would die out. Perhaps its spirit would survive, but the forces that give Christianity solidarity and individuality among the world's religions would cease to operate. In its place would rise religion for an age of science and industry, pitched in terms of a culture whose ear-marks are those of contemporary social interest. As vigorously as Doctor Wieman denies this consequence in his article in THE QUARTERLY, it is precisely the method he has followed in the texts that he has written.

Herein lies the weakness as well as the strength of Doctor Wieman's contribution to the philosophy of religion. Constructively, he is providing leaders with a more earnest and contagious way of relating (which requires a vocabulary and frequently restated formulas) themselves to cosmic reality; on the contrary, he provides no adequate interpretative nexus between his philosophic approach and the historic and social values of Christianity. His view-point is scientifically oriented, rather than genetically centered in the stream of our Western religion. In this chosen field he practises what he repudiates in the aforementioned article; he substitutes one religious culture (according to " the scientific method ") for an inherited and a historically validated cult. As the writer has pointed out in a former article dealing with Professor Wieman's philosophy of religion,[4] he fails to make the synthesis between science and history in conceiving the breastplate of faith of an on-moving Christianity. Who has bridged the gulf? Does this major problem not suggest the next step in rethinking the purpose and appeal of Christianity?

[4] *A Philosophic Support of Mysticism*, THE CROZER QUARTERLY, April, 1928, pp. 169-183.

EDITORIAL NOTES

RELIGION AND SCIENCE IN EDUCATION

The student of theology must be primarily a student of life. The data for his science are obviously obtained from the relevant experiences of human life. He needs therefore an understanding of the interplay of forces that give to life its meaning. His fundamental concern is with the religious aspects of experience, but such aspects are not isolable from the other phases of experience. In this sense there is no sphere of life that is devoid of religious, and therefore of theological, significance. If any man needs a comprehensive understanding of life, it is the theologian.

Life has both outer and inner aspects. Human interests include things and ideals. Our methods of guidance and control ought to include within their purview both of these aspects. There is no logical necessity for a conflict between the two. Neither is it necessary for us to live divided lives as dual personalities. It is possible so to relate the differing aspects of experience to one another and to life in its comprehensiveness that harmony will be the outcome. It is one of the glorious missions of education to develop personalities in which such harmony will be cogent. Admittedly our modern education is not as effective as it ought to be in that respect. It is a challenge to the education of the future to overcome any lurking dualism as between things and values. For the truly educated man sees life in perspective, a harmonious unfolding of natural human capacities.

There are two disciplines that have come somewhat into conflict with one another, particularly within the last century, as guides for human life. Science has placed in human hands a technical method for guidance and control. Religion has continued to direct human attention to the ideal as the type of

motive that should dominate. The advocates of scientific education have urged the use of techniques for guiding man into right relations with his environment. He should observe as widely and accurately as possible, and make use of his accrued knowledge for the improvement of the conditions of life. In contrast, religion has suggested that the most significant phases of life largely escape the scientist with his technique. The aspects of worth in human experience are over and above the factual and quantitative aspects. "To know God and enjoy Him forever—this is the whole duty of man." We believe that there is no necessity for assuming that such a conflict between science and religion is inevitable. Indeed the key to their reconciliation is to be found in a well-poised education which will recognize the service of both as ministrants to life, life itself being pivotal.

We are perfectly familiar with the unhappy results issuing from the divorce of the technical from the ideal. We have witnessed the engines of destruction devised when technical science is harnessed to militarism. The economic world also has too often employed science for the advantage of the few at the expense of the many. Whenever the stress on technique is so great that human worth is neglected, culture becomes soulless. The other extreme is likewise dangerous. Idealism that neglects scientific achievement issues in an impractical and unhealthy theorizing about life. The imperative need is for the two phases to influence one another and to interpenetrate for the enrichment of life. Idealism will help to humanize the sciences, while at the same time technical knowledge will clarify the nature and possibilities of the ideal. Thus will religion and science each help to save the other.

THE CHALLENGE OF THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

Cordial relations between religion and science ought to be especially cogent in the sphere of theological education. The-

ology is both a science and a philosophy. As a science it has at its command the best methods for analyzing and explaining human needs and religious experience; as a philosophy it seeks to interpret religious life in its comprehensiveness, with particular reference to its worth aspects. Thus we have that precise interplay of the technical and the ideal without which life is fragmentary and dissociated. The data of theology are religious; the manipulation of the data for their understanding and interpretation is a scientific task. We must have religion and science, and we must have them unrestrained, or our theological thinking must suffer an abridgment.

It is true in theological thinking as it is in other areas of life that the balance must be maintained as between the technique and the ideal. When either phase is in the ascendant to the neglect of the other, thinking comes to be fragmentary and undisciplined. Let the theologian concern himself exclusively with the raptural and mystical data of religious experience, and the result will be incapable of development into a system of thought. Elements that are subjective will play a large part; objective criteria will be difficult to discover. Historical and environmental considerations will be immaterial. To decline to make use of the technique of critical scholarship is to perform a disservice to religion by turning away from it thoughtful persons who might otherwise be interested in its contribution to human life and happiness. A religion that looks askance at technical scholarship will not win the loyalty of men devoted to truth.

On the other hand, technical scholarship if taken by itself is in danger of inducing dry rot. The primary data of theology is the religious experience of men living in the past and present. It is possible so to manipulate the facts and records about such vital experiences as to denude them of all but an academic interest. The theologian is more than an analyst or academician; he is an interpreter of life, an interpreter of the profoundest and most worthful of all human experiences. He is

concerned with humanity's deepest needs, most spiritual longings, most satisfying and ennobling quests. He is a student of the ways in which men have striven to come to terms with the most far-reaching problems of life, not simply problems of theoretical interest, but the practical problems of the enrichment of life. To bring to bear on such problems all the acumen of scientific learning in a spirit of reverence and sympathy is the imperative of duty.

This is the challenge that confronts theological education today. It must be reverent and constructive without being emotional or uncritical. It needs to be technical and scholarly without being unappreciative and unsympathetic. It must not lose sight of the woods in botanizing the individual trees. It must be more interested in building up than in tearing down, in fulfilling than in destroying. It must tread a middle path as between the Scylla of a barren technique and the Charybdis of an emotional idealism. It cannot be left either to the irreverant scientist or to the unintelligent priest to guide our religious thinking through the maze of contemporary problems. The religious world is looking expectantly toward theological educators to effect that harmony between religion and science that will make religion most intelligible and science most humane.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Challenge of Change. John Milton Moore, D. D. New York: Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement. Pp. xi and 204. Price, cloth, $1.00; paper, 60 cents.

The author's own words in the Foreword, "A good deal of brave, hard, patient thinking is called for today if home missions is to rise to the level of Christian statesmanship which the new conditions in American life require," are illustrated in himself. During his first and succeeding pastorates, in executive positions as Secretary of the Department of Missionary Education of the Northern Baptist Convention, as member of the Board of Managers of The American Baptist Home Mission Society, as Chairman of the administrative committee and in recent years one of the three General Secretaries of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, he has done brave and hard and patient thinking. He has contributed not a little to the change which was always challenging him. Because he met the challenge bravely and patiently and thoughtfully, he has proved his enthusiasm for missions and his certainty of the victory of its central message. He knows that amid all the changes he has seen a widening of the influence of the gospel and a deepening of the spiritual perception of the churches. He has kept company with those choice spirits in all Christian bodies who are more zealous for the triumph of the Spirit of Christ than for the organizations through which the Spirit operates, and they registered their conviction at the recent Congress of Home Missionary Agencies at Washington.

In this volume Doctor Moore performs a difficult task with ease. With material so abundant and with momentum of denominational successes so hard to resist, he has compressed in few pages what may well have required several volumes. He rightly assumed that the readers for whom the volume was designed are aware of the change and are ready to accept the challenge. He simply states the problems and emphasizes the implications of which many are only dimly aware. He compliments the youth of our churches by making it a "study-book," and by appealing to their appreciation of good diction, forceful reasoning, and honest mode of procedure. If hundreds of our churches organize classes to study seriously *The Challenge of Change* and courageously carry out the convictions registered, another generation of Christians will marvel at the progress of the Churches of Christ in America in the coming quarter of a century.

The table of contents indicates the subjects treated, and excites curiosity as to method and matter. I. What Has Happened to America? II. What Is Happening to Home Missions? III. Home Missions Are . . . IV. Home Missions Is . . . V. What Should Happen to the Churches? V. What May Happen to Christianity in America? A sufficiently comprehensive bibliography and a rather minute index increase the value of the book for purposes of study and reference.

MILTON G. EVANS.

Will America Become Catholic? JOHN F. MOORE. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1931. Pp. x and 252. Price, $2.00.

EVERY American citizen should read this book. It would be well for Protestants if the mastery of its contents were required of high school graduates; it would be equally well if parochial schools of higher grades were required to read it. It would tend to remove fear from the Protestant, and self-complacency from the Catholic, and prejudices from both. Freedom from fear and arrogance and intolerance can come only through knowledge of facts and their just appraisement.

The author has taken pains to gather the facts, and his endeavor to be judicially fair is evident on every page. It is of prime importance for citizenship in the United States that men of differing religious faiths should try to understand history and know the forces that are making for national solidarity and human brotherhood. Mr. Moore has rendered service to all who wish to know the strength and weakness of both Catholic and Protestant. With painstaking care he gathered his information from authoritative Catholic sources; he tabulates his sources and evaluates them; he registers his own conclusions and gives reasons for them. To dispute his facts and to refute his conclusions will require patience and soberness of mind equal to the author's. If a reading of the book stimulates one to attempt this he will make a contribution to contemporary history. He must first, however, read this volume.

The author was formerly employed in welfare work as a Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, but within recent years has been engaged in research and in writing. One of the results is, *Will America Become Catholic?* The volume is more than an answer to a question. It is a compact review of recent history of Catholicism in America; it touches on questions that are vital to Papal claims and American democracy; it shows how the social questions of birth control, immigration, and race prejudices affect the problem. The table of contents shows the variety of interests and the range of information. I. The Case Stated; II. The Church Universal; III. The Church in the United

States; IV. The Immigrant Catholic; V. The Celebate Clergy; VI. The Church and Birth Control; VII. Mixed Marriages; VIII. The Declining Birth Rate; IX. The Vanishing Irish; X. Leakages from the Church; XI. Catholic Evangelism; XII. Converts to the Church; XIII. The Negro Catholic; XIV. The Color Bar; XV. The Influence of the Church; XVI. The Verdict.

A valuable appendix lists the Catholic periodicals from which the author quotes or to which he refers. An excellent index is printed.

The book is a challenge to all Christian men within both Catholicism and Protestantism. For it is certain that neither historical Protestantism nor historical Catholicism can dominate the future. The author's closing sentences announce the challenge: "The issue today is not whether America is to be made Catholic, but whether America, Protestant or Catholic, is to be made Christian. That is the task."

MILTON G. EVANS.

The Growth of the Idea of God. DEAN SHAILER MATHEWS. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xiii and 237. Price, $2.50.

ONCE more Dean Mathews has placed the world of Christian thought under obligation to him by a constructive contribution to theological literature. This time the Dean is dealing with the greatest of all themes, the idea of God. He has given us one of his best books, and that is saying a good deal.

No subject is of such fundamental importance to the theologian as the doctrine of God. It is the pivotal concept around which all other religious ideas revolve. A clear understanding of the development of the idea of God is a prerequisite to the appreciation of the significance of all other doctrines. The appearance of so many new works that deal with the idea of God is evidence of the increasing desire to get to the bed-rock foundation of religious thinking. Dean Knudson's work of last year was a reinterpretation of the doctrine of God along the familiar lines of systematic theology, but coming to terms with the developments in the fields of philosophy and history. Dean Mathews' present work is an approach through history and social psychology to the understanding of the developmental aspects of the concept. These two books taken together place a new technique into the hands of the theological student.

Dean Mathews employs in the present volume something of the same method he used in *The Atonement and the Social Process*. Religious thinking is dependent on the social mind for the concepts through which it must express itself. The social life furnishes the patterns for doctrines and concepts. To begin with, such patterns are used analogically, but when

analogies are socially integrated they tend to drop their figurative qualities. The idea of social patterns which we owe to social psychology is an exceedingly fruitful notion, and helps to deliver us from the temptation to be over-literal in our treatment of the concepts we use. In the historical treatment of his theme our author points out that the two most consistently employed patterns in Christian thinking have been those of sovereignty and spirit. The former originated in political thought, and the latter in animistic psychology. In this age of democracy the sovereign idea is not the best pattern for our generation to interpret the experience of God. Dean Mathews finds that crude animism has left its marks on the ways in which people even today think of spirit. Where such is the case, it, too, becomes a poor pattern. The economic life has also furnished a pattern that has been unhappy, the pattern of a creditor. Probably the creditor-sovereign pattern has persisted longer than otherwise it might have done, because democracy does not have any serviceable distinctive pattern that can be used.

The two final chapters deal with "The New Theistic Patterns" and "A Contemporary God." Here we find the author facing up to the problem of our own generation. How can God be interpreted to this generation? He examines and rejects the conclusions of humanism that the concept is no longer serviceable. But he welcomes fellowship with those humanists who recognize the presence in the universe of "personality-producing forces." The universe itself is not inactive but includes elements which make possible the development of humanity and the achievement of human purposes. If humanism takes into account this conception of the totality of human relationships (as one group of humanists is trying to do), there can be no doubt of its genuinely religious interest, even if not identical with historical theism.

It is to science rather than politics or economics that the present generation is looking for patterns through which God may be interpreted to our own age. "A god of a tribe was like a tribal chieftian; the god of an empire was like an emperor; and now the God of the universe in space-time must be conceived of as activity that is creating and environing. That is to say, the pattern must involve the conception of process which now dominates our scientific thought." (Pp. 206, 207.) And again, "God is our conception, born of social experience, of the personality-evolving and personally responsive elements of our cosmic environment with which we are organically related." (P. 226.) For religion is an organic relationship, a personal relationship. The author insists that the religious emphasis in the thought of God must never be made subservient to metaphysics. To be sure, metaphysics cannot be totally relegated to oblivion,

for the idea of God includes that conception of ultimate reality upon which man depends for his welfare. Yet that is more than an intellectual category. The idea of God is the outcome of personal efforts to gain help in time of need from the environing universe. God is a profoundly personal experience, and not just an intellectual abstraction.

Theologians and preachers alike will welcome this book. Here is creative Christian thinking, expressed with all the clearness and literary charm for which Dean Mathews is well known. It is not surprising that it was a selection of The Religious Book-of-the-Month Club.

A. S. Woodburne.

Friedrich Nietzsche. George Burman Foster. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xiii and 250. Price, $2.50.

We are grateful to those who were instrumental in the publication of this work by the late Professor Foster, to Dr. Curtis W. Reese as editor, and to Dr. A. Eustace Haydon as author of the Introduction. Professor Foster delivered the chapters of this volume as lectures before his lamented death in 1918. Those who had the pleasure of hearing him speak have wondered through the years why the lectures were never published. It is one of the finest pieces of work which that distinguished thinker accomplished, and well worthy of preservation in this form. The book is of worth not simply for its penetrating analysis and appreciation of Nietzsche, but also for the insight which it gives us of the mind of a great teacher and philosopher. One wonders sometimes whether a bond of sympathy was at the base of Foster's interest in Nietzsche. There was much of tragic misunderstanding and suffering in the lives of both men. And both of them, despite their suffering, were able to preserve an optimistic attitude toward life. There was this important difference, however: Foster maintained his faith in the validity of moral and spiritual values where Nietzsche relinquished them.

Doctor Foster interprets Nietzsche as Schopenhauerism plus Darwinism. He was influenced by Schopenhauer's doctrine of the world as will and as idea. But instead of allowing himself to be turned into negative and ascetic and pessimistic channels, as Schopenhauer did, he followed the lead of Charles Darwin, and maintained an optimistic view of life, the issue of which was his doctrine of the Superman, the one who is to transcend man, even as man in his turn transcended the ape. It is not possible to discover any thorough-going coherency in Nietzsche for the simple reason that there was a development in his own thinking, and Foster traces the stages through which his thinking went in regard to the great problems of

reflection. The doctrine referred to represents the developed Nietzsche. The difficulty, of course, that confronts Nietzsche's interpreters is that he was an artist rather than a scientist, and his writings reflect that disposition. He made use of figurative language so much and yet his readers have often tried to read him literally. Foster has been much more kindly than many of Nietzsche's critics mainly because he has tried to sense his use of figures. He thinks that Nietzsche's glorification of war means the battle of life in which he summons men to play the hero. When Nietzsche cries that "God is dead" most men would give him up as irreligious and atheistic, but Foster tries to understand him, and thinks he really means that the orthodox Lutheran idea of God was dead, but that he kept the idea of a God who changes.

Here and there the reader is delighted by those keen analyses of thought, theological and philosophical, so characteristic of Professor Foster. In his appreciation of this enigmatic thinker we see again the greatness of the mind and heart of George Burman Foster, one of the pioneers in the modern philosophical study of religion. Every student of modern thought ought to read this book.

A. S. Woodburne.

The Martyrs: A Study in Social Control. Donald W. Riddle. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. xi and 231. Price, $3.00.

The New Testament scholar has turned psychologist. In doing so, he does not presume to have departed from his legitimate field of study. Rather, Doctor Riddle looks upon the psychological approach as the next stage of socio-historical procedure of biblical scholarship. This approach has the advantage (over the latter) of being a more exacting science of factual discovery. The method of *Formgeschichte* advanced by Debilius and Bultmann is made to pay dividends in the author's comprehensive study, though he confesses special indebtedness to Shirley Jackson Case for suggestion. He selects the early church martyrs to illustrate how the primitive Christian group organized its resources of faith and good sense to "control" its members and to command unswerving loyalty to their Lord amid the adverse circumstances in the Roman state. A liberal supply of materials from the New Testament and patristic records are drawn upon to give empirical evidence of this procedure in the church.

It is the author's contention that by the middle of the second century the cult of the martyrs had reached a high stage of development. As Christianity spread, so also opposition extended from local mob-action to cultivated persecution. Polycarp was an early object of community ill will. He and other offenders against Rome who suffered death were

idealized by their colleagues in martyrological literature. Doctor Riddle finds an abundance of this type of writing in the New Testament, and cites instance after instance to show that authors conceived Jesus in imputed word and deed as the peerless forerunner of all Christian martyrs. Rewards (and punishments) both in this world and in the next were held out to those facing trial of their faith, as means of social control. Cyprian went so far as to picture any particular persecution as a cosmic drama in which God and his angels participated as ministering servants to the Christian. This literature was employed to school local Christian groups in what to do and say and how to "endure hardness" when Roman agencies bore down upon them to require conformity to imperial practise. A skilful use of this technique did provoke pathological conditions in some disciples, but it also inspired church-members to meet emergencies and to make their religion the ascendant one in the West.

This book is a fit demonstration of a specific method. It illustrates two principles: One, that the problems, ideals, and literature of ancient Christianity were conditioned by its champions working out their destiny in terms of the untoward circumstances of the Græco-Roman environment; the other, that so-called secondary (this-worldly) causes are considered by the scholar as sufficient indices to account for early Christian behavior, controls and ideals.

STEWART G. COLE.

Adolescent Education. FREDERICK ELMER BOLTON. New York: Macmillan. 1931. Pp. xv and 506. Price, $3.00.

ONE cannot read this thought-provoking study of adolescence and secondary education without realizing how limited as yet is the ordinary man's understanding of youth nature. *Adolescent Education* is an antidote for those who think lightly and speak glibly of conditions of teen-age development. On such mooted questions as the relative value of heredity and environment in the making of personality, the saltatory theory of physical growth, the significance of the sex impulse in maturing the social self, the comparative merit of the direct and the indirect methods of ethical education, and so on, the author tends to take a well-seasoned position. With great skill he steers between the Scylla of radical psychological claims and the Charybdis of traditional pedagogical practise. At the same time his is a clear statement of personal views. At some sections of the manual the study approaches a source-book, so many and such well-selected quotations from educators' works appear.

Of particular interest to religious leaders is the author's last two chapters (nearly one-quarter of the book's contents) which treat para-

mount aims and the inspiring of character in adolescent education. Earlier in the text he gives due consideration to the theme of emotional education. There is no question concerning the idealism of this public school man. Consider these words, "On graduation from the high school what a boy loves is vastly more important than what he knows. What companions does he choose? What books does he voluntarily read? What ideals does he harbor? These are the really significant characteristics which will determine his life's career. . ." Unfortunately, perhaps, Professor Bolton follows the typical approach of his profession when he all but deletes the religious function from his scheme of youth behavior. But this omission should not lead the reader to underestimate the refreshing and scholarly manner in which the author employs the imperious tests of youth character in school and society.

It is a strange book with which a reviewer does not find some occasion for disagreement. Are not Bolton's frequent comparisons of the nature of children and youth too general to bear any weight of value? In what legitimate scientific manner can morality and religion be numbered among the instincts? Is it in harmony with the science of genetics to give the term morality such an adult content that, when applied to childhood, it rules out any possibility of preadolescents behaving morally? Why are Hartshorne's and May's character inquiry and W. W. Charters' contribution in *The Teaching of Ideals* omitted in the author's cataloguing of valuable studies in character education? If Doctor Bolton had included in his purview the necessity of religion to complete youth's living, would he have made "good citizenship" the *summum bonum* of school ethics?

Doctor Bolton is the head of the School of Education, University of Washington, Seattle, and in American public school circles is a trusted advisor and author.

STEWART G. COLE.

A New Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament. A. T. ROBERTSON and W. HERSEY DAVIS, Professors of New Testament Interpretation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1931. Pp. xiv and 454. Price, $2.50.

IT is a genuine pleasure to commend in the highest terms the excellence and value of this grammar. It is easy for a reviewer, when in despair as to what he may say of a volume, to put his tongue in his cheek and remark that it is an "indispensable book." How many book shelves —more than five feet in length—would be filled were all the indispensable books selected! But this volume, in my judgment, *is* indispensable for the student of Greek. At least I shall use it myself and shall employ it

in my classes. It fills a real need. Burton's *Moods and Tenses* is excellent; there are several fairly usable Beginner's Manuals, but there has been no modern competent grammar of the koiné. The result is that the teacher has been obliged to fall back on Goodwin's *Greek Grammar* and have his students keep note-books of the differences and variations the later usage reveals. This volume should bring a needed relief. If it could be followed by a volume of Prose Composition of the koiné, many of us could utter piously the *Nunc Dimittis*.

Naturally the subject matter falls in Accidence and Syntax, with an excellent section on Word Building. Actually, the volume is more than a Greek Grammar; it is a rewarding study of comparative philology, admirably sketching the birth of a language. Paradigms are full; the list of principal parts of the more common Greek verbs will rejoice the teacher.

Older students of Greek who have not kept abreast of modern discussions will be startled to find eight cases (not four) taken for granted through this volume. The genitive now shares its endings with the ablative; the dative like all Gaul is divided into three parts—pure dative, locative, and instrumental. Personally, I doubt whether this new nomenclature, although favored, and with good reason, by many grammarians, will supplant the older quartet in actual use, but the recognition that the various shades of meaning which exist are not a curious group of irregularities and inconsistencies should be of value to the more mature student for whom the volume is naturally intended.

The discussion of the voices, the pricking of the bubble of the "deponent verbs," and the discussion of the origin and meanings of the prepositions are but a few of the many excellencies. Above all, the insistence that the Greek is to be understood by its own context and not to be forced into the Procrustean bed of the syntax which modern languages such as English and German have developed is notable.

All in all it is a highly commendable piece of scholarship.

MORTON S. ENSLIN.

Taboo, Magic, Spirits: A Study of Primitive Elements in Roman Religion. ELI EDWARD BURRISS, Associate Professor of Classics in the Washington Square College of New York University. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. x and 250. Price, $2.00.

PROFESSOR BURRISS has rendered service both to those who are quite familiar with the findings of anthropologists in the field of primitive religion, and also to those who know little but wish to know more. To the former he gives little information, but in intimate companionable

fashion delights by his observations and interpretations. These will also be indebted by the narrow field to which he restricts his investigation. He limits his treatment to the primitive Roman religion, and makes available for them the sources. In this respect the volume is a technical contribution of real worth. His citations from Roman literature put readers in touch with material hitherto not so easily accessible. To the novice in the study of early religious beliefs and practises Professor Burriss' book is a good introduction. The earlier chapters discuss clearly the primitive mind, *mana,* magic and taboo, even though his illustrative material is taken mainly from Roman sources. It is also an advantage for the general reader that the selected field is restricted to the Roman religion, for it is in Italy that Western culture took its rise. To read the literature cited by the author is to be made aware of the soil in which Christendom took root and flourished, and explains many of the " survivals " in present-day religion, especially of Occidental Europe.

In common with all anthropologists, Professor Burriss reconstructed the mind of primitive man by the same process as they reconstructed the body of the Neanderthal man. The reconstruction may be a correct representation, but the method awakens suspicion. It is assumed that the intensely fanciful imagination of the savage makes him unable to make correct associations and to draw correct inferences, and yet the anthropologist proceeds to show how primitive men must have argued. That is, the scientist's logic becomes the logic of the savage, or *vice versa.* Without doubt this is often true. The logic of one is as good as the other. But fortunately logic is subsequent to the experiences that evoke the rational explanation. And modern man is just as ignorant and just as imaginative as the hypothetical primitive. Else it is hard to account for some present-day economic and social theories. By some strange process, many university graduates think that the " government," for example, is a sort of *mana,* and legislators are magicians that can compel *mana* to avert evil or render aid. Presumably, the reason is that the modern man is still primitive; and it is the primitive in the anthropologist that enables him to think quite as the savage does. The explanation is that both savage and civilized are human, and humans react in quite the same way under the same or similar conditions, regardless of the degree of culture.

These observations are not a criticism of Professor Burriss' book. For his work, especially later chapters on " Incantation and Prayer " and " Naturalism and Animism," furnish material enough to show to what extent popular Christianity must yet develop to slough off the primitive, not to say pagan, elements which cling to it because of the primitive or pagan in man.

Professor Burriss has patiently collected a large amount of material, well documented, clearly written, and condensed into a valuable volume worthy of a place in the library of all who may be interested in the history of religion.

MILTON G. EVANS.

Communing With Communism. WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD. Philadelphia: The Judson Press. 1931. Pp. xii and 153. Price, $1.50 net.

THE title has not merely the charm of alliteration. It describes the quality of the volume as an objective portrayal of one who communes, or converses. The author by education and by temperament and by professional training and experience is not a propagandist. He is not seeking material to frighten or to soothe. He knew something of Russia before he cared enough about the new experiment of communism to commune with it. He believed it was worth his time and energy to have conversation with fellow humans who are conducting methodically one of the most amazing social experiments in history. It is an experiment so astounding in motive and in method as to bewilder. It has no precedent. While it has its likenesses to the French Revolution, for example, its unlikenesses are more marked. It combines the sophistry of the French with the scientific precision of the German, motivated by an idealism that captures the imagination. It is an economic rather than a political revolution, and therefore is regarded more of a menace to the world than any former upheaval of history.

Mr. Lipphard is enough of an idealist to sympathize and enough of a pragmatist to ask questions. He was able to commune, to give and to take, to express opinions and to elicit answers. He used his camera to fine advantage. The illustrations are as informing as his verbal descriptions; and his word-pictures are as clear and distinct to the mind as the photographs are to the eye.

Of the many books designed to give trustworthy information of what is happening in Moscow, this volume can be regarded as one of the best. Its eleven chapters and nineteen illustrations make unnecessary the cost of a trip to Russia in order to see and know the social experiment in operation. And, in all probability, the reader will have more accurate information and a juster appraisal of results than if he himself had been the observer. Unquestionably, those who read *Communing with Communism* will have a "larger understanding of the stupendous social experiment, the vast cultural readjustment and the shattering religious disintegration now taking place in Russia."

MILTON G. EVANS.

Science and Religion. A Symposium, with a Foreword by MICHAEL PUPIN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1931. Pp. xi and 175. Price, $1.75.

THE twelve contributions that make up this book constitute a series of talks broadcast in Great Britain in the autumn of 1930. The contributors are Julian Huxley, zoologist; Sir J. Arthur Thomson, biologist; J. S. Haldane, physiologist; Bishop E. W. Barnes, leader of Anglican modernists; B. Malinowski, anthropologist; Rev. "Dick" Sheppard, popular Dean of Canterbury; Canon B. H. Streeter, theologian; Father C. W. O'Hara, Jesuit and mathematician; Sir Arthur Eddington, physicist; S. Alexander, philosopher; Dean W. R. Inge, preacher and scholar; Dr. L. P. Jacks, editor and educationist. It is a great array of distinguished scholars and authorities, and their contributions are in every case worthy of their reputations.

Naturally in such a symposium one encounters differing points of view. Julian Huxley and Bishop Barnes stress the necessity for religion to modify its forms in accordance with the progressive knowledge of science. Father O'Hara and Doctor Jacks, on the other hand, desire to live on good terms with science, but do not think religion can be dictated to. She has her glorious achievements and victories just as surely as science. Sir Arthur Eddington thinks we can be surer of God and the human mind than we can of the physical world which is only known through symbols. Professor Alexander questions that thesis, pointing out that the psychical and physical worlds are closely interwoven, and that there is no objective ground of certainty in regard to the inner light of faith any more than of physical existence. Several of the authors write in the strain that the conflict between religion and science is a thing of the past. Dean Inge says not when theology speaks for religion and naturalism for science. Neither one can help poaching, and the good arguments that result are for the general good.

It is not possible to isolate any one or two of these chapters as especially outstanding. The symposium is valuable, however, as presenting a cross-section of the best British thought on this live subject. It speaks for the educational value of the radio that such high-minded discussions should have an attraction for the listening-in public. No man to whom this great theme is of interest can afford to neglect this book. The one general impression that the work makes is that religion and science are drawing nearer to each other than they were a few years ago. The world needs more of both, and these scholars have shown us that it is possible for them to cooperate for the enrichment of life.

A. S. WOODBURNE.

A Psychological Approach to Theology. WALTER MARSHALL HORTON, Professor of Systematic Theology, Oberlin College. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1931. Pp. xiii and 279. Price, $2.50.

RELIGIOUS experience is fundamentally psychological in character. It is personal experience, and psychology is that science that concerns itself most with personality in all its phases. The psychological study of religion was begun only forty odd years ago. Much of its findings are of first-rate importance for theology, and it was inevitable that some scholar should consider the bearings of the one on the other. We congratulate Professor Horton on this maiden attempt to utilize the materials of psychological science for theological ends. It is a splendid beginning in a field that is rich in promise. The author has not felt himself limited by any of the current psychological schools, but has wisely drawn upon the achievements of all. There is still much material of theological significance, such as in the field of social psychology, and hence there is a broad scope for other investigators.

Traditionally theology has begun with the doctrine of God. If theology be approached psychologically, the point of departure will naturally be man. That is the most revolutionary element in the changed point of view. One begins with that factor of religious experience about which he knows the most, viz., the experiencing person himself. The science of the mental life has much to contribute to the theologian's knowledge about human nature, its needs, abnormalities, and motivating forces. The older theology began with the simple proposition that man was a sinner. A better understanding of human nature makes it plain that the old concept of sin was altogether too confined to depict the needs of men. The religious life is human nature seeking to adjust the various elements in personality to one another, and to the environment so as to attain the completest possible life. The best religious life should be conceived as life on a high plane of idealism, yet the normal development of man. This is not to blink one's eyes to the ills of life. There are evils as well as good possibilities, and human nature is not inherently inclined to either to the exclusion of the other. Psychology is a useful instrument for the theologian in aiding him to diagnose human ills and seek for their removal.

Professor Horton applies the psychological test to discover what Christianity can do to meet the needs of human nature. The test is that of discovering what ability it has for releasing men from the ills and perversities of life, and enabling them to attain their highest potentialities. Here the history of religions supplements psychology as a theological

instrument. All of the historic faiths have displayed some resources in furthering the development of personality. All of them, including Christianity, have displayed certain defects. All of them have something to learn from each other. Our author looks forward to an increasing spirit of intellectual hospitality toward other faiths and their contributions, in the same way that Paul displayed that spirit toward Hebrew culture, and Clement toward Hellenism. The Eternal Christ or Logos is not without manifestation in all times and among all peoples. Increasing understanding will bring increasing appreciation.

Even the psychologist has to ask metaphysical questions. He is interested in inquiring about that element in his environment toward which man makes the religious response. God is in a sense a psychological, an empirical fact. Christian faith in him is a psychological experience. The inquiring mind wants to know what the final destiny for human nature must be. That leads him to the problems of God and immortality, problems that involve metaphysical considerations. The study thus concludes where the traditional theology would have begun. The new point of approach promises to be fruitful in helping to deliver theology from the charge of being too theoretical and divorced from the concerns of the common man. It will help theology to become more of an empirical science, as well as an interpreter of life on its highest plane.

A. S. Woodburne.

Religion on the American Frontier. Volume I. The Baptists. W. W. Sweet. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1931. Pp. ix and 652. Price, $5.00.

This is the first of a series which Professor Sweet, of the Divinity School, University of Chicago, intends publishing as source material in a study of the religious forms and practises of the various Christian bodies as they faced the frontier in America's westward march. The present volume deals with the Baptists and is definitely limited as to time and territory in the history of that denomination. The greater part of the material, which are mainly records of local churches, associational minutes and journals, is confined to Kentucky, Tennessee, and adjacent sections.

The book is most valuable for an understanding of the social life of the time and the effort of the people to meet religiously the needs of life in those rigorous and trying years of the pioneer. Such simple records reveal not only the traditions of any religious group, but also the heroism and faith of the early settlers of the "farther west."

R. E. E. Harkness.

The Dilemma of Religious Knowledge. CHARLES A. BENNETT. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1931. Pp. xvii and 126. Price, $2.00.

THE passing of Professor Bennett, of the Philosophy Department of Yale University, in 1930 was a distinct loss to the philosophical world, and especially to America. The text of the present volume was delivered as lectures in Boston a short time prior to the death of the author. Professor William E. Hocking has performed a worthy service in editing and contributing a preface to them.

Professor Bennett's main argument is directed to show the underlying fallacy inherent in a number of current theories of religious knowledge. The views that would reduce religious knowledge to the level of the illusory, whether based on anthropology, sociology, or psychology, are examined and rejected. In each case Bennett was able to show that there was inherent in the theory itself the recognition of an unexplained residuum. His conclusion is not as negative as it appears on the surface. It is that there must be a philosophy of religion to interpret religion. Religion can only breathe in a metaphysical atmosphere. It is impossible to account for it on any purely naturalistic hypothesis. Eliminate the supernatural from religion and you have nothing left that can properly be called religion.

The work is marked by lucidity of expression as well as keen insight in argument. Bennett was not insensible to the difficulties. He found this supernatural or metaphysical element that refused to be eliminated and refused to be rationalized. That constitutes the problem for a philosophy of religion. It seems a pity that Professor Bennett was not spared to contribute what he felt to be a positive approach to this problem, the crux of the philosophical interpretation of religion.

A. S. WOODBURNE.

Heathen Rage. GERALD STANLEY LEE. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1931. Pp. 342. Price, $2.50.

Heathen Rage ought to be reviewed by a pen racing and raging with the abandon of full and torrential living. For after all that is what Mr. Lee is writing about—about "coordinated," abounding, bull-moose-on-a-rage kind of life. Bad men, i. e., heathen, do get such a kick out of living! O that good men could find the technique of raging in their goodness as do bad men rage in their badness! "Why do the heathen rage?" and why do the good not rage? That is the question. Why do so many good folk degenerate into mere uplifters and yearners clothed upon by a sort of sickly, pious pallor through which breaks no capacity to rage?

Take the men of these five "noble professions," the physician, the parson, the lawyer, the teacher, and the artist—behold how they "yearn" to improve us heathen. But we prefer to be heathen, thank you. We cherish the chance to rage.

Thence follow chapters in which the author deals cleverly, rather after the gad-fly fashion, with the unrealized possibilities which lie in these respective noble professions; possibilities of living more fully and thereby inspiring others thereto, possibilities of raging and thereby passing the contagion to others. The reviewer confesses that he seldom reads chapter by chapter a book under review—but he did read every paragraph of this one, teased and enticed by a clever writer.

Who is that contemporaneous tragedian who sings, "But the durn little Ford it rambled right along"? Mr. Lee is like that mechanism (and he hates mechanisms) in that he, too, rambles right along—but you, the reader, also ramble right along, fearing you may miss something! A certain teacher of homiletics warns young preachers that when in the midst of a discourse they run on a shoal with nothing more to say, they must nevertheless keep talking *interestingly* until something worth saying meets them. *Heathen Rage* reveals an author who fulfils that injunction admirably!

Members of these noble professions, we ministers not less than others, can read this volume with delight and profit, provided we can delight in and profit by seeing ourselves as seen by another, even so penetrating a critic as Gerald Stanley Lee.

WILLIAM R. MCNUTT.

The Fourth Gospel and the Life of Today. MARY ELY LYMAN. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 156. Price, $1.50.

THIS scholarly and readable volume was written with the purpose of helping those whose knowledge of the modern criticism of the Fourth Gospel has disturbed their confidence in its teachings as coming from Jesus. The objective of the study is stated to be "such an orientation into the world of thought from which the Gospel sprang as will show its place in its own time, and help us to interpret it for today."

After an interesting discussion of the problem of the Fourth Gospel, its relation to the Synoptics, and its literary art, the author devotes a chapter to showing how this gospel came to be written. The Book of Revelation is dated in the reign of Domitian, probably after the year 90, and the gospel under discussion from fifteen to twenty-five years later. Written in Ephesus, it had a real mission to the followers of Jesus in that city. What this was is presented briefly by the author:

"Here in the Christian community was a time of transition—transition from the primitive era of spontaneous enthusiasm to a more settled and permanent *régime*. The immediate expectation of Jesus' return was gone. The leadership of Paul was now a half-century in the background. Part of the adaptation of Christianity to the Western world had been done by him, but, as years went on, new problems and new needs had arisen. The liberalizing of the Christian movement to allow for the participation of Gentiles in the brotherhood had made necessary a further step in liberalizing and adaptation. If Christianity was to be intelligible in this new world it must talk in terms that were understandable to it. It must interpret itself in the light of the philosophical thought of such a city as Ephesus; it must compete on the religious side with the redemptive religions and offer a superior type of salvation if it were to succeed in a world like this. It must touch the problem of the hostility of Jews to the Christian society, and deal with the too conservative element within its own ranks. It must transform the more practical and external concepts which it had inherited from Judaism into concepts that could live in a world that was talking about religion as 'secret knowledge,' and of its power to 'save' and of its guarantee of life after death. It must free itself from the already outworn concepts of apocalypticism and offer an eschatology that could commend itself in a more sophisticated world."

This task was undertaken by a great genius who saw the serious situation of the little Christian group in this important heathen city and who had a vital and satisfying personal experience of the religion of Jesus. He wrote what was in reality the first synthesis of the "mystical, intellectual and ethical" elements in the Christianity of that day. The author points out that Christianity in America is surrounded by conditions similar to those in the Mediterranean basin during the first century, A. D., in that old standards of authority have broken down, former standards of thought and conduct have lost their significance, diverse elements of various cultures are being brought together and different religious interests are receiving special stress. Now, as then, "few people are able to take a view of the whole which is able to unify or harmonize these diverse religious interests."

Today the ethical appeal of Christianity is related to social betterment, the intellectual interest centers about the relation of science and religion, the mystical emphasis is upon "the direct experience of God by the individual." In these tendencies the need of balance is evident. To meet this need the Fourth Gospel presents "Its gift of wholeness of view . . . All three aspects of religion have found harmony with each other in this interpretation of Christianity, and all three have been given an artistic expression that has lifted them above the accidents of any one age or of any one type of culture." It is difficult to do justice to this worthwhile book in a brief review.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

God's World. Cornelius Howard Patton, D. D. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. Pp. 297. Price, $2.00.

The author believes that a world-view is necessary for the Christian, and writes "to help people to realize and appreciate the world as a whole." His point of view is frankly theistic and Christian. Concerning the field covered he says: "The book has been written under the conviction that events like the shrinkage of the world's life, the conclusions of human geography as to the influence of climate and environment, the emergence of nationalism in its newer and more passionate forms, the increasing pressure of the international ideal, the tendency of culture to become world-embracing, the steady disintegration of the non-Christian religions and the hopeful drawing together of the Christian forces, constitute a new and immensely significant era in human progress. We are living in a momentous world-age, and it behooves every earnest-minded person to seek to understand the main currents of its life."

The book is divided into three parts, the first of which shows how the world has contracted into a neighborhood, and gives a striking account of the earth's resources and inhabitants. The effect of climate upon character is considered and the claim for Nordic superiority critically examined.

The second part deals in an equally interesting way with poverty, sickness, ignorance, and sin, and the measures proposed to remedy these evils. Part three deals with the contest between nationalism and internationalism and between the cultures of the East and West, and stresses the supremacy of religion among the forces working toward the improvement of the world. Christianity is presented as the highest expression of religion, and the words of Doctor Speer are quoted with approval, "Not only is Christianity better; it is best."

While the work that remains to be done is shown to be "colossal," attention is called to the fact of the universal acceleration of progress. The program of Jesus Christ is declared to be "a divine order for the world" and the sure triumph of Christianity is predicted if every Christian does his part.

The reader marvels at the ability of the writer in packing the pages of the book with striking facts and in arranging them in such an interesting and convincing manner. The value of the work to students is increased by the list of suggested readings appended to each chapter, and the carefully prepared index to the entire volume.

Rittenhouse Neisser.

Buddhism in India, Ceylon, China, and Japan. A Reading Guide. CLARENCE H. HAMILTON, Ph. D. The University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. viii and 107. Price, $1.00.

THE literature about Buddhism as well as of Buddhism in the countries where it has been domiciled is so vast that a bibliographical guide has become a necessity for the student. Professor Hamilton in the present work has supplied that need excellently for these four countries. Since Buddhism took rise in India, and the division into the Hinayana and Mahayana schools also took form in India, the first chapter deals with these most important phases of Buddhist history. The philosophical developments of Buddhism are also taken into consideration. The two last chapters take account of the various schools that have developed in China and Japan.

The book is a little more than a bibliographical guide, for it presents in summary outline the main points of development throughout. The reader will find an excellent synopsis of the life and teachings of Buddha, omitting the legendary material, and of the historical development of Buddhism as religion and as philosophy in the four countries. Necessarily the treatment is selective, but no matter of major importance has been neglected. The work has been done systematically and excellently.

A. S. W.

Baptists in Burma. RANDOLPH L. HOWARD. Philadelphia: The Judson Press. 1931. Pp. xii and 168, 9 illustrations. Price, $1.00.

THE story of the missionary enterprise of American Baptists in Burma, from the days of Judson until the present, is one of the most fascinating and inspiring in the history of Christianity in modern times. The historian of the future will have to take greater cognizance of the church in the mission field than hitherto. Doctor Howard has related the narrative with the vividness of a moving drama, and performed a fine piece of service in writing this story in a form that makes it serviceable for mission study groups. The Judson Press is to be congratulated in making it available in an attractive form at an exceptionally reasonable price.

A. S. W.

The Preaching Value of Missions. HELEN BARRETT MONTGOMERY. Philadelphia: The Judson Press. 1931. Pp. x and 166. Price, $1.00.

THE text of this volume constituted the John English Lectures delivered at Newton Theological Institution in November, 1929. Mrs. Montgomery rightly senses the fact that the preacher is the key man to the success of

the missionary enterprise. The purpose of the lectures, as indicated in the title, is to suggest to the minister the valuable resources available to him for the pulpit. She reviews the theme from the resources available in the Old and New Testaments, in the history of Christianity, and in missionary biographical literature. A final chapter brings together considerable information about the methods in use for educating a church in the missionary attitude. The book is another witness to the fact that Mrs. Montgomery is one of the best informed leaders today with respect to Missions. We could have wished that she had offered to the preacher a little more guidance as to how to meet the criticisms of the present day. She might have made more of the challenge to world friendship, which is one of the most potent appeals for the preacher to this generation. Perhaps the most inspiring chapter is the one dealing with missionary biography. That also is a powerful incentive to our day. Here is a magnificent field for the investment of personality where it will count the most. The book is useful not only for the preacher's library, but for women's societies and all leaders in the great enterprise.

A. S. W.

The Modern Adventure. W. J. Blyton. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. ix and 313. Price, $2.25.

The Modern Adventure is an unusually interesting and well-written book. The author is an English Roman Catholic, and the book has been accorded the imprimatur of the church. Nevertheless it has very little of ecclesiastical dogmatism, and represents an effort to face the facts of the modern world, and to present the appeal of the Christian faith in a way that will appeal to the man who is perplexed by present day problems. It is indeed a sign of hope when the church of Rome is prepared to take a cordial attitude toward one of its fold who regards religion as an adventure. There is a fine spirit of sympathy with those who find themselves bewildered by the materialistic and somewhat shallow thought tendencies of the post-war age.

The author presents an admirable defense for the validity of the claims of religion. He is thoroughly convinced that when doubts assail serious minds they ought to be seriously respected, and not dismissed in any cavalier fashion. There is far too much superficiality in respect of much modern knowledge, whether it be in psychology or theology. Too many folks are willing to proffer expert opinion on books after reading a review or two, but without reading the books themselves. We must sympathize with Mr. Blyton's protest that the facts of life and of religion merit more serious thought than many are giving to them. "I am—therefore I am worth while." Only a purposive explanation of our place in

the world can yield rational satisfaction, and it should be our human effort to try to understand the divine plan for ourselves. Man is thus the point of departure for our study of religion. The search for God, for the most fruitful life, and for the companionship of those who are like-minded is a human search. It is our great modern adventure.

Our author is acquainted with the best work that is being done in the field of the philosophy of religion, and is abreast of what scientists are telling us about the nature of the universe in which we live. He quotes as much or more from Protestant philosophers and theologians as from Roman. To be sure, he commends the reading of Augustine and Aquinas as intellectual stimulants. Yet we find him admitting that the division of reality into "natural" and "supernatural," a division which we know was fundamental to Aquinas, can be driven too hard and too fast. "The daisy in the field is supernatural, in the sense that it issues from the Creative center; but on the other hand, God and the realm of spirits are as natural as anything visible or created."

Toward the end of the book the appeal of the Roman church becomes more vocal. We suspect that the author was looking through ecclesiastical spectacles that produced the effect of an illusion when he looked at the thermometer of the sixteenth century, and read it as indicating a "Great Frost." There is one long chapter entitled, "Looking for a Church" in which the author represents the modern adventurer as looking for a church to which he may ally himself, and who begins by setting down the criteria by which to judge whether he has found the best one. He sets down no less than twenty-four characteristics by which the judgment is to be formed. Then he asks whether there is any such body that fulfils the requirements, and his reply, of course, is that "the Holy Catholic and Roman Church" answers fully to all these exigent demands. So the adventure is ended. The adventurer can venture only so far as Mother Church permits. It is hers to command; it is his to obey.

A. S. Woodburne.

The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work (Studien über die Sozialpolitik der Quäker). Auguste Jorns. Translated by Thomas Kite Brown, Jr. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. 269. Price, $2.00.

This group of studies comes late into English. They were originally written in German in 1912, but from material found in the Friends' Reference Library in London. Then the War! At present an additional chapter setting forth the Quaker position on war would have been valuable. However, the subjects selected by the authoress have been carefully,

though rather too briefly, presented. The names of certain Quakers like Fox, Penn, and Bellers are certainly inseparably linked with earlier social programs of relief and education. Even Karl Marx paid tribute to John Bellers.

Before the beginning of the fifth of the seven chapters in the body of the book the Quakers have been complimented for their efforts to bring relief to the poor, to improve and extend education, to curb the use of alcohol, and to arouse public interest in the sick and the distressed. But when this chapter on prison reform is introduced by the remark that, " In the humanitarian activities which we have hitherto considered, the Quakers concerned themselves primarily with the welfare of members of their own society," some are prepared to believe that most of their social pioneering were attempts to better their own social conditions. Probably the writer failed to see the Quaker principles as those of a minor group struggling into recognition. And not all social workers will agree with her in saying that in these days the Quakers have been called " for the strengthening of the world's sense of social responsibility." (P. 239.)

RAYMOND HIGHTOWER.

The Conflicts of the Early Church.. W. D. NIVEN. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1931. Pp. 181. Price, $2.00.

BRIEF and simplified, quickly and profitably read. A significant point of view is sustained. " Creative personalities " and " a series of conflicts " are the two great factors in the development of the Church. Of the latter only the " biggest conflicts " of the first four centuries are treated; such as those with Judaism, the Roman State, Paganism, Gnosticism, Marcionism and Montanism. It is not satisfactory to regard the development of the early Church as inevitable and right, nor yet as a corruption of essential Christianity. It is a living organism growing in an environment from which it selects and rejects. The conflicts it has encountered in some form or other have been permanent. (P. viii.) The Church has been self-reforming but never completely victorious. To a great extent the conflicts have made it. There never was an undivided Church in either faith or practise. (P. 174.)

Some may also ponder the following: " Christianity came out of a world not spiritually dead. The pagan world became conscientiously opposed to the persecution of Christians." The fourth century Church contained both purists and Catholics; as it could not decide whether it was a " society of the holy " or a " school for holiness " a mischievous twofold morality grew, the easier for the laity, the more arduous for the clergy.

In the third century "what the theologians were concerned with was not primarily to secure our Lord's Divinity, but in view of his Divinity to safeguard monotheism." (P. 154.)

If, however, current Church conflicts are but ancient ones brought up to date, Christians have been doing a great deal of walking standing still.

RAYMOND HIGHTOWER.

Human Values. DE WITT H. PARKER, Professor of Philosophy, University of Michigan. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1931. Pp. viii and 415. Price, $2.50.

PROFESSOR PARKER'S works in the philosophy of art are well known. Art is concerned with one type of man's experience of value. It is fitting that the author should deal with the subject of value in its wider aspect. He has done this in the present volume, promising still another dealing with the metaphysic of value. In *Human Values* he concerns himself more at length with ethical principles as they are related to considerations of value, though technological values, art, play, knowledge, and religion are also considered. The treatment is fundamentally psychological, the basic principle being in this case the human will.

In contrast with Professor Perry, who defines value as "any object of any interest," our author submits the definition, "the satisfaction of any interest in any object." He states his thesis thus: "There are in man dominant systems of interest" that "contain values qualitatively alike," that "have their own laws of functioning, their unique and characteristic standards and norms," and "are commonly embodied in institutions." It is in terms of these major interests that human nature is to be understood. The highest interests are those that best represent the self as a whole. Where interests conflict the person must reach some conclusion as to how adjustment is to be made. It may be integration, or combination, or choice between alternatives involving the sublimation of some to others.

Professor Parker is opposed to the idea that there is any specific moral interest or value. On the contrary morality is intimately associated with every human interest and activity. All values are moral in the sense of being both normative and imperative. In the more specific sense ethical values are a species of the value of love. Any conflict of interests or of authorities is also a rivalry as between moralities. That means that there is no absoluteness of morality, as some have supposed. Since each individual belongs to several groups, it is inevitable that he experience the conflict in himself. The result has the merit of forcing upon him the necessity

of achieving a personal conscience in contrast to the merely social conscience. He must synthesize values in himself.

The author mentions a view of truth that differs from the usual conception. It is the view that truth is not a value, because for it all things are placed on the same level, whereas it is the distinguishing mark of value to place things on different levels. Parker is, however, persuaded that truth is a value, on the ground that it makes a difference to us as to whether or not we are prepared to act upon an idea. That is what makes the difference between belief and unbelief or perhaps doubt.

Especially interesting for readers of THE CROZER QUARTERLY is his treatment of religion. Parker begins by placing it, along with play and art, among the values of the imagination. By this he means that religion is not so much a specific value as a particular method of achieving value. Differentiating religion from art, the author says that art belongs to the world of make-believe, the world of "as if," but religion to the world of belief, of the "is." Sometimes faith requires a voluntary exercise of "the will to believe," which is symptomatic of a lingering doubt. Intolerance is often bred of fear of being infected with the other man's doubt. The value of religion is in giving to the believer the assurance that his values are secure. It is doubtful whether man could have accomplished the work of civilization without the assurance of religion given to his values.

The whole discussion is stimulating. Doctor Parker has our thanks for this work, and our best wishes for him in concluding the supplementary work on the metaphysical aspects of value.

A. S. WOODBURNE.

The Christ of the Classroom: How to Teach Evangelical Christianity. NORMAN E. RICHARDSON. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xviii and 372. Price, $2.50.

THE writer has attempted a task that must be accepted early and seriously by Christian leadership. He has sought to relate critically the principles of religious education and those of evangelical Christianity. In this book the reader will find an interpretation of Jesus the Christ, sin, righteousness, salvation, faith, evangelism—values that have remained primary in the American Church, and of personality, self-adjustment, life-situation, conduct control, personal integration—concepts that are vital in educational circles. Doctor Richardson is convinced that a fit harmony of ideals and projects will arise as the Saviour of the gospel records, who revealed "the righteousness of God," remains "central and normative in the program of Christian education." To this end he offers a rather thorough study of the pedagogy of Jesus.

And yet the first sentence in the book reads, "A study of Jesus Christ's mastery, as a teacher, may be made by noting the chief characteristics of competency in teaching, as defined by the science of education. . . !" Time and again (Cp. pp. 76, 108, etc.) he grants that science is a higher master than Jesus in pedagogical procedure, only to turn as frequently and condemn the undue encroachments that this secular study has made within the channels of the spiritual enterprise. At the same time, a glance at the gospel records which the author uses shows that his scientific lead is psychological rather than historical and social. He has made the incidents of the New Testament narratives pay direct tribute to our current human needs, without regard for their purposed meaning in the primitive Christian group. On that account there is an authoritarian approach to the book's thesis that is not strictly in harmony with either educational or religious scholarship.

This apologetic appeal is most prominent in his concluding chapter, "Whither Bound, Religious Education?" which was the author's inaugural address as professor of religious education, delivered in September, 1930, at Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago. In this statement of view-point, while justly recognizing the conflicting trends in educational policy within Protestantism, he is unduly severe in his strictures upon so-called liberal scholars and theological schools. Many of the latter sense no incongruity in paying unswerving loyalty to the Christ—an adventuring and a questing Christ—and to the instruments of human understanding that science and secular idealism are making available to kingdom interests. In the author's defense of theocentric (via the mediating Christ) religion he has failed to give due consideration to the genetic factors in personality development and to social progress in the history of Christianity.

A careful reading of this book will make clear to the student what a difficult, if not critically impossible, task it is to try to harmonize the traditional and the scientific approaches to evangelical religion. It will afford evidence of the hiatus that lies between them and make imperative upon leaders the needs for bringing about their effective rapprochement if evangelical Christianity is to remain an educational force in the modern world.

STEWART G. COLE.

A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Christianity. SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE, Editor. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. 265. Price, $2.50.

COMPILED by Professors Case, McNeill, and Sweet of the Divinity School, Pauck and Spinka of the Chicago Theological Seminary, University of

Chicago, this handbook is designed "to supplement any textbook or outline; or as a guide in itself for a course of study and discussion." The nine chapters give titles of representative works in the various periods of Christianity's history as well as of its particular phases, both in the old world and the new. Chapter introductions and comments attached to many of the titles serve to make the *Guide* of additional value to students of church history.

R. E. E. Harkness.

Word Pictures in the New Testament. Archibald Thomas Robertson. Vol. IV. "The Epistles of Paul." New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. Pp. xix and 634. Price, $3.50.

Professor Robertson possesses that rare combination of scholarship and homiletical ability which makes it possible for him to produce a work like this, designed to be of value to students of the New Testament who are without technical equipment as well as to those who have had the advantage of thorough training. Coming from a Greek scholar of such high rank, the grammatical notes are especially valuable. As the work will be used by pastors and students for reference as well as for consecutive reading, it is to be regretted that the names of the epistles and the chapters under consideration do not appear as part of the page headings.

Rittenhouse Neisser.

A Book of Prayers for Students. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. Pp. 200. Price, $1.25.

This book of prayers first appeared in England in 1915, since which time it has gone through several editions, each of which has been an enlargement upon its predecessor. It contains brief services of prayer, litanies and meditations, general prayers, collects and short prayers, intercessions for various subjects and occasions, prayers for various causes and movements, and acts of devotion in preparation for the Communion Service. That increasing number of ministers who are interested in the enrichment of their own public prayers and the worship services for which they are responsible will find this volume a wellspring of inspiration and practical help.

William R. McNutt.

Living On Tiptoe. M. K. W. Heicher. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1931. Pp. 122. Price, $1.50.

The author is Professor of Missions in San Francisco Theological Seminary. He writes out of a wide experience with youth in camp, conference,

and on college campus. The book is composed of a series of seventeen addresses to youth. Their style is colloquial and the message challenging. They constitute a stirring call to adventurous living. We discern a weakness in much of today's preaching and a concomittant pallor in the life of many churches; neither has any appeal to adventure and daring. Professor Heicher strikes a fine note in these talks, and we make the guess that youth always responds. He sounds the appeal which the churches and their ministers must recover if young people are to be captured and captivated for kingdom enterprises.

WILLIAM R. MCNUTT.

Christian Life and Faith. WILLIAM TEMPLE, Archbishop of York. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. 139. Price, $1.50.

THE present volume is the text of a *verbatim* report of eight addresses delivered by Archbishop Temple during a mission conducted at Oxford last February. The addresses embody a straightforward presentation of the Christian message to a group of thoughtful men. They are at once positive and suggestive, dealing with the great practical concerns of the moral and spiritual life. Doctor Temple has a keen philosophical mind, and presents the same argument in more reflective form in his *Christus Veritas*. *Christian Faith and Life* is homiletically full of suggestive appeal.

A. S. W.

Vanguard of the Caravans. COE HAYNE. Philadelphia: The Judson Press. 1931. Pp. x and 157. Price, $1.00.

THE story of John Mason Peck, pioneer in Home Mission work for American Baptists in the Middle West, is well told in this book by Mr. Hayne. It illustrates well the fact that missionary work defies geographical limits. The book commemorates the centennial of The American Baptist Home Mission Society. It will be invaluable for mission study groups, and inspirational to all who read it.

A. S. W.

The Essentials of Leadership. HERMAN HARRELL HORNE. Nashville: Cokesbury Press. 1931. Pp. 136. Price, $2.50.

THE author has gathered together various articles which he has contributed to popular magazines and given them a rather arbitrary title. Judging from such traits of the leader as are mentioned, a reader might conclude that the number of "essentials" were unlimited and that most of them were of an orthodox blend.

S. G. C.

And So He Made Mothers. MARGARET T. APPLEGARTH. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1931. Pp. xiv and 248. Price, $1.50.

A SHEAF of beautiful tributes to motherhood by a well-known American story writer. Some of them are provided with the interest of special patriotic and religious day programs in mind.

S. G. C.

Attractive Parties for Children. LOTTIE E. FITCH. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1931. Pp. xi and 171. Price, $2.00.

THE author sets forth thirty types of play-programs which sponsors of children's parties will find replete with happy suggestion.

S. G. C.

The Golden Book of Faith. THOMAS CURTIS CLARK. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1931. Pp. 273. Price, $2.00.

AN anthology of verse gathered and arranged by one skilled in verse and one laid hold upon by faith. In such a volume the indices are not of least value, hence the author gives us a topical index, another locating hymns and poems by title, and a third which catalogues according to first lines. A valuable volume of its kind.

W. R. McN.

Hymns in Human Experience. WILLIAM J. HART. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1931. Pp. 221. Price, $2.00.

NOT a volume of hymn stories, but rather of incidents wherein some particular hymn played a part or met a need in a life. Valuable for illustrative material.

W. R. McN.

1,000 New Illustrations. Compiled by AQUILLA WEBB. New York: Richard Smith. Inc. 1931. Pp. 283. Price, $2.50.

ANOTHER volume of illustrations from a man skilled in the selection and use of illustration, a volume which is companion to *1,001 Illustrations for Pulpit and Platform, and 1,000 Evangelistic Illustrations.* Twenty-two pages give an adequate topical index.

W. R. McN.

The Word We Preach. Sermons by Representative Men in the Baptist Ministry. Edited by W. H. ROGERS, D. D. Philadelphia: The Judson Press. 1931. Pp. viii and 287. Price, $1.50.

THIS is a volume of sixteen sermons by fifteen ministers of the Northern Baptist Convention. They are " representative " of the conservative group.

W. R. McN.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Important books will be reviewed in a forthcoming issue.

A Life of Jesus. BASIL MATHEWS. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1931. Pp. xiv and 519. Price, $3.00.

The Unique Aloofness of Jesus. JACOB BOS. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. Pp. xiii and 245. Price, $2.00.

The Sunday School Lessons for 1932. JAMES H. SNOWDEN. Eleventh annual volume. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. 390. Price, $1.35.

Open Doors in Religious Education. JOHN W. SUTER, JR. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1931. Pp. xiii and 128. Price, $1.25.

John Calvin—the Man and His Ethics. GEORGIA HARKNESS. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1931. Pp. xv and 266. Price, $3.00.

John Calvin: A Study in French Humanism. QUIRINIUS BREEN. Grand Rapids: The Reformed Press. 1931. Pp. xi and 174. Price, paper covers, $2.00; cloth, $3.00.

The Parables of Jesus. GEORGE A. BUTTRICK. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1931. Pp. xxx and 274. Price $1.00.

The Taproot of Religion and Its Fruitage. CHARLES F. SANDERS. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xi and 266. Price, $2.00.

Religious Realism. Edited by D. C. MACINTOSH. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Price, $3.00.

The Foundations of Bible History. JOHN GARSTANG. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1931. Pp. xxiv and 423, with 73 plates and 19 maps. Price, $5.00.

The Finding of God. EDGAR SHEFFIELD BRIGHTMAN. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1931. Pp. 200. Price, $2.00.

The Natural and the Supernatural. J. W. OMAN. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xiii and 506. Price $3.00.

The Making of the Christian Mind. GAIUS GLENN ATKINS. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1931. Pp. xii and 336. Price, $1.00. A review of the first edition appeared in THE CROZER QUARTERLY, July, 1929.

The Prospects of Humanism. LAWRENCE HYDE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1931. Pp. 249. Price, $3.50.

The Forest Hospital at Lambarene. ALBERT SCHWEITZER. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1931. Pp. 191. Price, $2.00.

Ancient Beliefs in the Immortality of the Soul. CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1931. Pp. xi and 188. Price, $1.75.

Survivals of Roman Religion. GORDON J. LAING. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1931. Pp. xiii and 257. Price, $1.75.

Studies in Religious Education. Edited by LOTZ and CRAWFORD. Nashville: The Cokesbury Press. 1931. Pp. 702. Price, $3.50.

The Story of Eugenia and Philip and **The Epistle of Pelagia.** Parts III and IV: Ethiopic Martyrdoms. EDGAR J. GOODSPEED. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. 21 and 14. Price, $1.00 each.

Pathways to the Reality of God. RUFUS M. JONES. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xv and 253. Price, $2.00.

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